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THE CODE OF HONOR IN ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA*

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Standing north and south so as to avoid the glare of the early morning sun, two men face each other across thirty feet of level, open ground. Each holds by his side a loaded pistol. Each has in attendance a friend, who places himself near by as a second. Farther removed are two surgeons and a silent knot of invited witnesses. A question comes, "Are you ready, Gentlemen?" Affirmative answers are given. Then: "Ready—fire—one—two—three—halt." Between the words "fire" and "halt" two shots ring out and a tight cloud of acrid smoke envelops each marksman. There is a moment of heavy quiet; and one of the combatants sinks to his knees, his face a pale mask, his hands fumbling for a small white-edged hole which has appeared in the lapel of his dress coat.

This scene, with some variation, was repeated time and again in antebellum South Carolina. It was a scene frequent enough to be considered almost commonplace. It represents the *code duello*, the affair of honor, the gentleman's mode of settling disputes and avenging insults. Historically it is a noteworthy facet of the social record of a proud and turbulent people.

The duel in the United States was not, of course, peculiar to South Carolina. Popularized by visiting Frenchmen during the period of the American Revolution, it was well known throughout the South and West, and was not foreign to the North. But in South Carolina it reached full flower. There it was longer sustained by public opinion, and practiced more in accordance with traditional regulations of procedure.

Statistics on duelling in South Carolina are imperfect and must remain so. Duels did not always make newspaper copy, especially those not ending in death or serious injury, and no public record was kept of them.¹ There are, nonetheless, sufficient sources of all types to indicate the frequency of the "honorable altercations." William King, for example, in his survey of the Charleston press, lists sixty-three duels fought by citizens of that

^{*} Part of the research for this article was made possible by a grant from the Claude W. Kress Research Endowment Fund, Clemson College.

¹ See the Yorkville Compiler, Sept. 12, 1840, and Thomas Gamble, Savannah Duels and Duellists, 1733-1877 (Savannah, 1923), 135, 154. A manuscript article in Yates Snowden Papers at South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, lists fourteen "ungazetted" Charleston duels.

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city between the years 1806 and 1839; and the editor of the Camden Gazette apparently attached no special importance to a matter-of-fact announcement in 1817 that three duels had occurred near his town in a single week.²

Such travelers to South Carolina as William Faux and James Silk Buckingham may likewise be cited in evidence on duels and duelling. Faux, writing from Charleston, insisted that he had been introduced to thirteen men, eleven of whom "had killed their man each" in duels. They met, he said, as "gay proud birds of a feather." Buckingham, a capable English observer, was shocked by the number of duels in the state during the 1840's and declared that the citizenry shrugged off such affairs as "manifestations of manly spirit." One illustrative duel, he wrote, took place while he was in Columbia. Two young men exchanged shots at twelve paces, and each wounded the other. "The parties then withdrew from the combat," he concluded, "but no notice was taken of the affair by the public authorities, and with the community it excited no sensation beyond the passing hour."

Individual duels in South Carolina had their origin in a multitude of causes, petty and large. Political differences often led men to the field of honor. A discussion concerning the relative merits of Calhoun and Crawford brought death to one argumentive gentleman in 1822.⁵ The nullification controversy of the 1830's likewise raised tempers, and at least one famous duel, the Turner Bynum-Benjamin Perry event, was occasioned by differences in interpretation of states' rights.

Bynum and Perry fought in 1832 on a small island in the Tugaloo River. Perry killed his opponent; and it is a commentary on the public acceptance of duelling that he could thereafter continue to hold positions of trust in his state.⁶

Now and then the politicians themselves engaged in duels to defend their platforms or records. General James Blair, for some years a member of the state legislature, was known as a man who made use of the pistol to stifle criticism of his legislative service. Thomas Evans, of Camden, discovered this fact to his regret when, in the early 1820's, Blair chal-

² William L. King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston*, S. C. (Charleston, 1872), pp. 164-66; Camden Gazette, Sept. 22, 1817.

³ William Faux, Memorable Days in America (London, 1823), pp. 47, 89-90.

⁴ James S. Buckingham, The Slave States of America (2 vols., London, 1842), I, 552, II, 3-4.

⁵ William Sparks, The Memories of Fifty Years (Macon, Ga., 1872), pp. 85-91; Lorenzo Sabine, Notes on Duels and Duelling (Boston, 1855), pp. 242-43.

⁶ Benjamin F. Perry Diary, Aug. 5, 11, 23, 1832, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

lenged him, and, in the presence of a crowd of on-lookers who laid bets on the outcome, shot him through the arm.

One political figure, Judge Daniel E. Huger, gained a measure of fame early in his career when, it was said, he went to Columbia as a member of the legislature carrying his duelling pistols with him. Acting to prevent bloodshed, the city fathers forced from Huger a sum of money which was held to "bind him over to keep the peace."

The insult, real or presumed, was the classic call to a duel in South Carolina. To insinuate that a man used the truth loosely was to invite a challenge. To make disparaging remarks about his family, his friends, his busi-

ness activity, or his status in society, was equally serious.

Verbal insults are, for the most part, lost to historical record. The printed jibe remains. Such was a note, directed to John Black by William Cline: "I can only account for Mr. B's petulance, by ascribing it to the effects of age upon a naturally weak mind, and I therefore reply to him 'more in sorrow than in anger.' A subject of pity must not be a subject of wrath."

Equally offensive was a note signed by J. Dupuy advising the reader that J. B. Callas had been heard boasting that he raised all sorts of animals on his plantation; and while he, Dupuy, could not vouch for other specimens, he was very sure that the said Callas "raises jack-asses."¹⁰

One South Carolina duel, fought by William Bay and Thomas Crofts, was occasioned by Croft's retort in an argument that Bay was an "ugly,

gawky, Yanke looking fellow."11

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The avowed purpose of the duel was to provide a remedy for slander, insinuation, and personal slight. Defenders of the code declared that courts were powerless to defend against insults. As one lawyer wrote, "Questions affecting personal character were rarely referred to courts of law.... To carry a personal grievance into a court of law degraded the plaintiff in the estimation of his peers and put the whole case beneath the notice of society."

Thus it was that the duel was accepted as the most satisfactory means of redress for personal affront. The difficulty lay in the proper definition

8 "The Memoirs of Frederick Adolphus Porcher" this Magazine (cited as SCHGM),

XLVI (April, 1945), 79.

10 Ibid., Aug. 30, 1806.

⁷ J. Marion Sims, *The Story of My Life* (New York, 1884), pp. 92-94. John Calhoun very nearly fought a duel with a political foe. Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun, Nationalist*, 1782-1828 (New York, 1944), p. 85.

Charleston Courier, July 2, 1824.

^{11 &}quot;The Journal of John Blake White" in SCHGM, XLIII (April, 1942), 114.

¹² F. D. Srygley, Seventy Years in Dixie. Recollections and Sayings of T. W. Caskey and Others (Nashville, 1893), p. 310.

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of a duel-worthy insult. Opponents of duelling were fond of repeating the tale of a member of Louis XVIII's bodyguard, who, it was said, fought three duels in a single day. One opponent had looked askew at him. Another had looked him full in the face, but with a hard glance. The third had passed him by without looking at him at all.

Recourse to the duel may, as its proponents insisted, have put a high order of civility into Southern life. Certainly it dampened the ardor of the press. One who reads the editorial comments of Western and Southern papers for the ante-bellum period readily notes the comparative politeness of the latter in their references to local personages. South Carolina papers often refused to print items which might involve the editor or others in a duel. A writer in the Sumter Daily Item reported, with some exaggeration, that, for an eight-year period during the heyday of the code duello, the South Carolina press "did not contain one abusive word". 12

A procedure followed by some South Carolina newspapers may be illustrated by the following excerpt from the Charleston *Observer*: "Our Correspondent G. E. will excuse us for not publishing his notice . . . as it contains an implied charge of a very serious character against an individual." And the editor of the Camden *Gazette*, having printed a note from Henry Britton that he no longer intended to honor his wife's contracts, felt constrained to add: "It is with regret we communicate the above advertisement, but as impartial conductors of a paper, we are bound to give it a place. The well known character of Mrs. Britton will, however, exonerate her from any illiberal insinuations which would arise from it under other circumstances." ¹⁵

An editor had cause for hesitation. He was held responsible for all that appeared in his pages, regardless of authorship; and there is considerable truth in the cartoons of the period which portrayed him with a pen in one hand and a duelling pistol in the other. At least six South Carolina editors fought duels during the ante-bellum years. Two of these were killed and a third was seriously wounded.

But editors held no monopoly as duellists. All professions and virtually all occupations were represented. As previously noted, politicians often settled their differences by the hard law of the code. Planters, merchants, military men, college students, and, in at least one instance, preachers,

¹³ Oct. 2, 1898. See also, Edward Ingle, Southern Sidelights: A Picture of Social and Economic Life in the South A Generation Before the War (New York, 1896), p. 160.

¹⁴ Charleston Courier, April 14, 1838.

¹⁵ Camden Gazette, Feb. 13, 1817.

¹⁶ Clement Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South (Durham, 1940), p. 163.

¹⁷ These six were J. L. Hatch, John Cunningham, W. R. Taber, B. F. Perry, Turner Bynum, and Thomas Evans. Bynum and Taber were killed; Evans was wounded.

were numbered among the members of the duelling fraternity. In the last case, the duel was not allowed to take place, but the Episcopalian gentlemen went through the preliminaries of sending and accepting a challenge. At that point each was made to post a peace bond and the affair ended. The spectacle of Christian ministers shooting at each other was too sordid to be condoned, even by duelling's best friends.¹⁸

As might be expected, the periodic reports of college students fighting to the death on the field of honor furnished material for numerous anti-duel sermons and editorials. Duels and near duels were not rare among the youth of the state, and their meetings now and then ended in tragedy. The death of James Adams in a fight with A. G. Roach is a case in point. Both were students at the South Carolina College. Their duel, brought to a head by a trivial dining-hall dispute, took place in 1833.¹⁹

In marked contrast with the boy-duellists were a small but notorious group who were classed as professional fighters. These men were skilled marksmen and utterly fearless. According to a contemporary, they were "usually detested by the better part of the community but... everywhere tolerated.... I have known a half-dozen in my time and they were all bad citi-

zens, the dread and reproach of society."20

One such man came to Charleston in the mid-1850's. Rumor credited him with having killed two adversaries in duels and reported him as being quick to anger. Rumor became fact when he took a sudden dislike to a young Charleston lawyer, goaded him into a duel, and killed him with one quick shot. Six friends of the deceased barrister then joined together and took a mutual vow to avenge the death of their companion by duelling with the murderer, one at a time, until some member of the six should be successful. They drew lots for first honor, and the stranger again killed his man with apparent ease. The society of requiters thereupon disbanded. As one of the group later said, "We gave it up. We agreed that nobody stood a ghost of a chance before him. . . . So we decided to let the monster go, and trust to the Almighty to cut short his career . . . [but] he lived to be an old man and died peacefully in his bed." 21

This particular duellist, it was said, always came to the ground with a smile on his face. Prior to taking his position, he would carefully place a cigar on a nearby stump or rock, saying that he would be back to claim

¹⁸ Edward H. Folk, "The Code Duello in South Carolina" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of S. C., 1924), pp. 37-38.

²⁰ William John Grayson, SCHGM, XLIX (Jan., 1948), 28.

²¹ Snowden Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

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¹⁹ Sims, Story of My Life, pp. 88-91; Daniel W. Hollis, University of South Carolina. South Carolina College (Columbia, 1951), 92-93; W. E. Walker, "The South Carolina College Duel of 1833" in SCHGM, LII (July, 1951), 140-42.

it before it burned out. It is worthy of note that, so long as this man remained in Charleston, he was "neither ignored nor cut" but attended all major social gatherings.

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One such bully, however, received a different treatment at the hands of Lexington citizens. Known as "Big Luke" Manning, he made the mistake of provoking a duel with crippled and popular Colonel Drury Sawyer. The terms of battle were unusual. Each man was to take his position with an empty rifle, and on signal load and fire. In his haste Sawyer got his ball stuck. Big Luke loaded skillfully, but before he could fire, the spectators overpowered him, beat him severely, and chased him from the area.²²

Some professionals were noted not so much for their duelling prowess as for their knowledge of the rules of the game and their ability to train others in the art. Such men as John S. Ashe and John L. Wilson were experts on procedure. Ashe fought at least one duel, in which he wounded his enemy, but he is better remembered as an ever-ready second. In his later years, he claimed to have acted as referee for "fifty-one difficulties between gentlemen.²³" If true, that fact in itself is an interesting aside on the statistics of duelling.

John Lyde Wilson, who later became state governor, was the author of the standard work on duelling rules used in South Carolina, and his pamphlet, first printed in 1838, was reissued in 1858.²⁴

Those who made a speciality of offering their services as trainers of duellists were consulted, it appears, with some regularity. At least one man ran advertisements in the 1840 Columbia newspapers. His curriculum "in the various branches of self defense" was "calculated to give satisfaction." ²⁵

A famed trainer and advisor of duellists was Chapman Levy of Camden. Levy had fought as principal in several duels and had once been wounded. One South Carolinian remembered him as "a man whose advice . . . [was] sought in every duel that . . . [was] fought in the upper part of South Carolina for many years." 26

Levy made Camden something of a headquarters for duel-training. Near the town stood a life-size statue of cast iron, which was used in target practice by those planning a fight. Camden citizens grew accustomed to the

²² Edwin J. Scott, Random Recollections of a Long Life, 1806 to 1876 (Columbia, 1884), pp. 127-128.

²⁸ Folk, "Code Duello," p. 4.

²⁴ John L. Wilson, The Code of Honor; or Rules for the government of Principals and Seconds in Duelling (Charleston, 1838). See also, Mabel T. FitzSimons, MS "Hot Words and Hair Triggers," chap. 1, Charleston Library Society.

²⁵ Susan M. Fickling, "Ante-Bellum Columbia" in Helen K. Hennig (ed.), Columbia: Capital City of South Carolina, 1786-1936 (Columbia, 1936), pp. 13-14, citing Columbia Southern Chronicle, Oct. 9, 1840.

²⁶ Sims, Story of My Life, p. 97.

sound of bullets ricochetting from the unique structure; and they said that one who sent or accepted a challenge was "going to the iron man." 27

Considering the frequency of South Carolina duels and the somewhat complicated formalities surrounding them, it is little wonder that the Chapman Levys and the John Wilsons were in demand. Wilson's rules won wide acceptance throughout the state, and they make it clear that duelling was a polished art, a gentleman's business, as hedged in by strict conventions and proprieties as any aspect of stilted social conduct.

The initial step in duel proceedings was a polite note, written by the person believing himself insulted, asking if the presumed insult had been intentional, and inviting an apology. The answer, also written, either precluded or dictated further steps. The original note had to be answered unless it came from a minor, a criminal, a lunatic, a man in his dotage, or one who had previously proved himself a coward—that is, had earlier "been disgraced and had not resented."

Should the note not be answered satisfactorily, the next step was the selection of seconds. A second, once he had accepted his assignment, was from that point the master of the situation. He made the decisions and the arrangements. The principal simply gave approval to his work.

It was Wilson's contention that nine duels of ten could be prevented by a diplomatic second, and he may well have been right. Certainly the selection of an astute second was important. It was generally agreed, for instance, that the duel between Thomas Hutson and Arthur Smith, both of Beaufort, could have been prevented without dishonor to either principal. But their "friends" pushed the affair to a conclusion, and both men were killed. This was also true concerning a duel near Winnsboro between Thomas Baker and Daniel Brown. Baker had called Brown "a d---d saddle-bag lawyer," and seconds chosen by the men refused to authorize peaceful settlement. The resulting duel was not fought in accordance with usual procedures. Baker and Brown took position back to back, walked five paces on signal, wheeled and fired. Both were killed.26

John Pope, a traveler to South Carolina, serves as an example of a second who acted to prevent a duel. As he told the story,

I...happily terminated the Dispute to their mutual satisfaction, by decreeing, that they both possessed indubitable Courage....That Capt. Sweetman had been too precipitate and Capt. Robertson too hasty:—that they therefore...stand 10 Yards asunder, then advance to the Centre, make their Concessions at the same Instant, protruding their dextral Hands, until they came into Contaction...that

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²⁷ T. J. Kirkland and R. M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part Two, Nineteenth Century* (Columbia, 1926), pp. 233-35; J. B. Angell, *The Reminiscences of James Burrill Angell* (New York, 1912), p. 54.

^{23 &}quot;Memoirs of F. A. Porcher," SCHGM, XLVI (Jan., 1945), 28-29.

they should then repair to the Hotel and take a Compotation of a late Importation from the Madeira Plantation, in Corroboration of the aforesaid Pacification.²⁹

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David L. Wardlaw stopped a duel between two famed South Carolinians, Waddy Thompson and Benjamin F. Perry. Perry had written the challenge, but Wardlaw, acting as second, held up its delivery for a day and was able to persuade Thompson to state publicly that he had meant no personal insult to Perry.³⁰

As Wilson pointed out, a second might himself be called on to fight. For example, if a second delivered a challenge which was refused on the grounds that the challenger was not a social equal, it was then the second's duty to offer himself in his friend's stead. Likewise, the second had to accompany his principal to the field, and there see to it that all went fairly. Should the opponent fire before signal, he was to be shot down, and for that purpose all seconds were armed while at the scene of combat. Following a duel, should a second believe that a regulation had been disregarded by the opponent, it was his task to bring this to public attention.³¹

The second's first duty was the delivery of the challenge, or the acceptance of it. Like the original note, a challenge was couched in polite terminology. Any man might honorably refuse an abusive communication. A challenge was not elaborate. It usually offered a brief statement of the case against the person to whom it was directed, asked for "a gentleman's satisfaction," and introduced the bearer as one authorized to make all arrangements.

Following delivery of the challenge, the two seconds proceeded to draw up terms of combat.³² The old idea that the challenged reserved the right to select weapons and dictate conditions, did not hold in South Carolina. To seek or accept any advantage in a duel "was an offense against good breeding which would disgrace any man."³³

Normal procedure was for the seconds to agree on an isolated spot, decide what surgeons and witnesses would be invited, and draw lots for position and the giving of signals. It was understood that one second gained the right to choose position, while the other won the privilege of calling out the firing commands.

²⁹ John Pope, A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North America (Richmond, 1792), p. 86.

³⁰ Kibler, B. F. Perry, p. 109.

³¹ See exchange of letters between Thomas M. Stuart and A. M. Manigault concerning an 1853 duel between Manigault and J. D. Legare. The latter's second, Stuart believed that all regulations had not been followed. Snowden Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

³² For such an agreement, see Kirkland and Kennedy, Historic Camden, pp. 235-36.

²³ Srygley, Seventy Years in Dixie, p. 310.

When the duellists and their associates arrived on the field, the positions were staked. The seconds then loaded the smooth-bore, flint-fired pistols, each inviting the other to superintend the process. Each second than placed a loaded pistol in his principal's "awkward hand" (that one not normally used for firing) and the adversaries took their places. A second called out the "Ready," the pistols were changed to the proper hand, and the shooting followed. No principal was authorized to leave his post until told to do so by his second, and no principal spoke at any time to a person other than his second.

According to the rules of duelling, any wound, however slight, meant that the duel was at an end, and that "full satisfaction" had been taken. But it was understood that the wounded party had full right to say, through his friend, that he was not satisfied and demanded another round. This being the case, the firing might well continue until a death resulted.³⁴

It was also true that a wound was not a necessity for the culmination of a duel. Following an exchange of shots, the seconds met on middle ground. The challenger and the challenged were asked if they were satisfied. An affirmative answer was quite honorable, and it is clear that the majority of duels ended without injury.³⁵

At this point one might well ask if ante-bellum South Carolinians made no move to outlaw duelling. They did, and on paper their move was successful. From 1812 the statute books specified duelling as a crime and a serious one. But public opinion refused to regard such episodes as criminal. This conflict of law and sentiment was not resolved until the duel, like other Southern institutions, became a casualty of the Civil War.

But to intimate that public opinion supported the affair of honor is not to tell the whole story. There was throughout the pre-war years a strong core of opposition to the duel, a persistent and vocal hostility that must have made the position of the duellist increasingly uncomfortable.

Leadership of the anti-duelling forces came largely from editors and ministers. Newspaper men, it is true, were now and then principals on the field of honor, but it is equally true that journalists fought the code with unabated fury.

Witness, for example, the following article which appeared September 22, 1807, in the Charleston City Gazette:

Departed this life, on Monday afternoon, Mr. Arthur Smith; and on Tuesday morning, Mr. Thomas Hutson—and yesterday, the remains of these young gentlemen were deposited in the tomb.... A challenge had been given and accepted—a duel was fought.... Such honor are thy triumphs! Come hither Duellist, and

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³⁴ See Chaplin-Kirk and Taber-Magrath duels in Gamble, Savannah Duels, pp. 211, 243-46.

³⁵ Yorkville Compiler, Sept. 12, 1840.

regale thy senses! See two young men...levelling the deadly tube at each other.... See them groaning on a deathbed; and now they breath their last. Hear the distracted outcries of a fond and doating parent.... Oh thou idol, who delightest in human sacrifice; who snuffest up blood as sweet smelling incense; when will thy reign cease? Oh ye votaries of this Moloch, ye abetters of murder and bloodshed!

Other editors took up the hue and cry. The Yorkville Compiler in 1841 doubted that the "morals of the community . . . [are] so far gone, that it is necessary for a man to become his own avenger." And as for the duellist, "if he falls, it should be without compassion; if he survives, it should be without respect."³⁶

The Charleston *Observer*, a thoroughgoing anti-duel paper, summed up the code of honor with these words: "Is it not rather a code of infamy, the very first principles of which every virtuous man must reprobate?" Noting an increase of duels in the 1830's, the same paper declared editorially that "the spirit of murder is really in the community itself."

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The South Carolina editor most active in anti-duel work was F. W. Dawson of the Charleston *News and Courier*. Dawson's activity, which included a scathing refusal of a challenge sent him, won for him from Pope Leo XIII the title of "Knight of the Order of St. Gregory."³⁸

Churchmen vied with the journalists in urging a cessation of duelling. Such prominent ministers as Arthur Wigfall publicly divorced the duellist from Christian fellowship. Thundered Wigfall to a Grahamville group in 1856: "The code of Cain is but the original draft of the Code of Honor; their moral identity can not be mistaken." "The heathen, I tell you, are at your doors. . . . The Hindoo widow, who will perish upon the funeral pile of her husband sooner than endure scorn and lose her caste, is no whit more benighted than the pagan man of Honour, who seeks death sooner than endure the scoffs of public opinion." ³⁹⁹

The consensus of churchmen on duelling is perhaps best expressed by Nathaniel D. Bowen of Charleston. Declaring the duel a violation of the laws of God and man, he urged his congregation to strip it "of the respectability it has borrowed from illustrious names, and consign it to the contempt to which its origin, its principles, and its effects, so deservedly entitle it."

Sermons and editorials were forerunners in some cases to the establishment of anti-duelling societies. These organizations pledged themselves to

³⁶ April 9, 1841.

³⁷ Jan. 11, 18, 25, 1834; March 17, 1838.

²⁸ Columbus, Ohio, Catholic Columbian, Dec. 17, 1904.

³ Arthur Wigfall, Sermon Upon Duelling. Together With the Constitution of the Grahamville Association for the Suppression of Duelling (Charleston, 1856), p. 6.

⁴⁰ A Sermon; Preached October, 1807, in St. Michael's Church, Charleston (Charleston, 1823), p. 26.

take measures to prevent all duels which came to their attention, and each member bound himself neither to send nor to accept a challenge. The Charleston society, formed in 1826, carried on its membership roster the names of several of the city's prominent citizens. It was led by General Charles C. Pinckney, who also persuaded the powerful Society of the Cincinnati, a Revolutionary War veteran's group, to take a public stand against the duel.⁴¹

Other typical anti-duelling societies were formed in Grahamville and Camden. Organization of the latter group, which had but little success, was occasioned by the death in 1829 of Henry G. Nixon, "Darling of the town,"

in a duel with Thomas A. Hopkins. 42

By 1812 the presentments of the critics were translated into action. Had the anti-duelling law of that year been enforced it would have killed the duel forthwith. Fathered by Philip A. Moser, a great humanitarian who also wrote the law making the slaying of a Negro murder, the 1812 act provided that any party to a duel was to be deemed a felon; and on conviction was to be jailed a year, pay a two thousand dollar fine, and furnish bond as insurance for future conduct. In addition, the act stated that a duellist was to be barred from the ministry, from holding public office, and from practicing law or medicine. Should a death result from a duel, all surviving parties might be tried for murder. 48

It thus appeared that duelling had suffered a heavy blow. But as previously intimated, the written law was generally ignored. Friends of the duel were quick to denounce the enactment as a failure. Wrote one man, "That block-head Moser deserves to be gibbetted for his nonsensical law."

Anti-duellists were heartened in 1813 when Walter Taylor, convicted at Edgefield of sending a challenge to his son-in-law, was fined three hundred dollars and jailed for two months. In another case, six years later, a similar verdict was returned which, on appeal, was upheld by the superior courts. 45

Any high expectations resulting from the Taylor decision were dashed to earth in 1819 in the case of the State versus John Edwards. 46 Edwards had killed Dennis O'Driscoll in a duel, and his was the first real test case of the

41 Niles' Weekly Register, XXXI (Oct. 28, 1826), p. 131.

43 Statutes at Large of South Carolina (Columbia 1836--), V, 671-72.

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⁴² Wigfall, Sermon Upon Duelling, appendix; Kirkland and Kennedy, Historic Camden, pp. 228-32, 237; Anne Royall, Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour, or Second Series of the Black Book (3 vols., Washington, 1831), III, 41-42.

⁴⁴ Theodore D. Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne and His Times (New York, 1909), pp. 197-98.

⁴⁵ Charleston City Gazette, May 10, 1813; State v. John Strickland, 2 Nott & McCord 181.

^{46 2} Nott & McCord 13.

duelling law. Robert Y. Hayne, then state attorney general, prosecuted him with commendable vigor, but the cause was lost when witnesses refused to answer questions on the ground that any answers might be self-criminatory. When this point of view was upheld in the higher courts, the duelling law became a dead letter. "Duel this morning," wrote Jacob Schirmir in his journal, "Mr. L— and Mr. D— . . . the former was instantly killed . . . he (D—) was indicted, but the grand jury ignored the bill."

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For four years the legislature failed to take official notice of the impact of the Edwards case on their law. Finally in 1823 they passed an addendum to the act, intended to circumvent the court decision. The revised law held that witnesses might legally be forced to give testimony, with the understanding that such testimony was not to be used against them. Further, if two or more people should be under indictment for aiding or abetting a duel, the attorney-general might designate any of them as state's witnesses and so strike their names from the indictment.⁴⁸ This interesting bit of legislative reasoning had little effect. In 1834 the legislature faced the plain fact that the duelling law was being honored in the breach, and proceeded so to weaken the statute as to make it only a sop for those who insisted that some sort of enactment be maintained.⁴⁹

Not until the reconstruction government of 1868 worked an anti-duelling provision into the new state constitution, was the offense again considered by the lawmakers.

But the duelling laws had some influence on the conduct of challenger and challenged. For one thing, many men chose to fight outside the state. South Carolina courts attempted in 1812 to stem this effort to evade their jurisdiction, and handed down a split decision that duellists who sent or accepted a challenge inside the state were indictable, regardless of where they fought. Dut a substantial number of citizens held faith in a full state's rights theory and believed that fighting their duels just over the borders of the Commonwealth would exempt them from possible prosecution. Such reports as "They repaired across the North Carolina line and went for business" became commonplace, and the historian of duelling in Georgia records numerous cases of South Carolina men shooting at each other in his state.

South Carolinians who came to Georgia to fight duels made little effort to disguise the purpose of their visit. An Augusta, Georgia, newspaper, noting that two South Carolinians had fought near that city, described the proceedings as follows: "We had a show here two or three days ago. A

⁴⁷ Aug. 2, 1853, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

⁴⁸ Stat., VI, 208.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 515.

⁵⁰ State v. Walter Taylor, 1 S. C. Reports 107.

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party from Camden came here to fight a duel; and, after preparing themselves, went to the ground at noon day through Broad street, with as much parade as if Lafayette had been coming. Carriages, gigs, sulkies and horsemen following to witness the bloody deed. One of the combatants was killed instantly."⁵¹

The duelling laws also had the effect of giving moral courage to many who, once the duel had been declared criminal, felt justified in hailing their slanderers and libelers to court rather than to the field of honor. Prior to 1812, circuit court records show only a single case of slander. From 1812 to 1822, twenty-one such cases were heard, and the increase was steady thereafter. ⁵²

This use of a legal weapon against loose talk and prevarication was an indicator as strong as any that the days of the duel were numbered. One "Acosta" wrote in 1823 that he looked for a stop to "licentions of the tongue, of the pen, and of the press," for the courts had begun to "view this satanic evil . . . by large fines." And a year later, Henry Willis, instead of sending a challenge, published the following: "The public are requested to suspend their opinions as respects certain reports which have been industriously circulated, injurious to my character. . . . I have directed a gentleman of the Bar to commence an action against the author." ⁵⁴

Considering the laws, the libel suits, and the activities of anti-duellists, it seems on the face of it strange that the duel thrived as an institution. One answer lies in the fact that duelling was a gentleman's tool, an affair of class and caste. Regardless of disapprobation from whatever source, the duel was a part of the social training of the upper classes, and was nurtured and kept alive by them. It required more than sermons to eradicate a way of life.

In short, duellists were social equals from society's first ranks. A gentleman fought another gentleman with a pistol according to the code. A gentleman horsewhipped or, even worse, caned a person of the lower estates. One sees, thus, the symbolic importance attached to the choice of weapons by Preston Brooks for his attack on vitriolic Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber at Washington.⁵⁵

To be sure, not all arguments between men of rank ended in a duel. There were times when even gentlemen became too angered to await the time-consuming preliminaries of the *code duello*, and went at each other

⁵¹ Cited in Niles' Weekly Register, XXXV (Feb. 14, 1829), 405.

Yorkville Pioneer, Nov. 1, 1823.
Charleston Courier, Feb. 17, 1824.

⁵² See T. C. Bowen, "Crime and its Punishment in South Carolina Prior to 1860" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1929), pp. 37-38.

⁵⁵ Charles S. Sydnor, "The Southerner and the Laws" in Journal of Southern History (Baton Rouge, 1935-), VI (Feb. 1940), 21-23.

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without ceremony. Such episodes as the fist-fights between Doctor Elias Marks and Reverend J. L. Reynolds, and John Preston and the editor of the Columbia *Free Press and Hive*, were hardly in accordance with the social pattern of their group. Nor, for that matter, was the Yorkville street shooting staged by two gentlemen who were, it was said, "transported beyond their better selves." ⁵⁶

Public defenders of the duel naturally pitched their arguments on a more popular level than that of caste. According to John Wilson, for example, the duel was actually a "method of self preservation." "When one finds himself avoided in society," he wrote, "his friends shunning his approach, his substance wasting, his wife and children in want around him, and traces all his misfortunes and misery to the slanderous tongue of the calumniator . . . he must be more or less than man to submit in silence." ⁵⁷

In the eyes of many advocates, duelling was a humane procedure, a refined form of trial by ordeal, and God was sure to be on the side of the innocent. The duel possessed an honorable history, these apologists said, and at its worst was never so bad as "shocking unregulated encounters." Above all, duelling was not murder; for murder was "secret killing." ¹⁵⁸

Duelling was responsible, it was claimed, for the comparative courtesy and "polish of manner" of South Carolina people. Duelling forced men to watch their speech; it was a "sharp but salutary remedy for rude and offensive conduct." ¹⁵⁹

As one nostalgic supporter of the duel put it, South Carolina people

Winked at the old code duello
Where there could be no compromise,
Where blood or life must wipe out
Stains 'twould not do to temporise.

Now looked upon as barbarous, This great age the code discarded, Old times belonged to refinement, To best classes was awarded.⁶⁰

Whatever the defenses, it seems clear that the average duellist fought because not to do so branded him a coward. Society forced the acceptance of a challenge. To quote a contemporary, any respectable person who re-

⁵⁶ Columbia Free Press and Hive, April 2, 1831; Yorkville Compiler, June 27, 1840; Charleston Courier, Aug. 22, 1806; Scott, Random Recollections, p. 57.

⁵⁷ Wilson, Code of Honor, pp. 4-6.

^{58 &}quot;Duelling" in Russell's Magazine (Charleston, 1857-1860), I (May, 1857), 132-42.

⁶ Gamble, Savannah Duels, p. 207.

O Dave U. Sloan, Fogy Days, and Now; or, the World Has Changed (Atlanta, 1891), p. 37.

fused to fight would "never again be permitted to join gentlemen even in a fox hunt. He's utterly out of it." Another wrote, "man could no more decline to fight a duel than woman could compromise her virtue without exciting the contempt of society." 22

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What happened in case of a refusal to fight was that the refuser was "posted." This meant either that placards were tacked up, or that space was bought in a local newspaper, or both. In any event, the news that a fight had been turned down was broadcast, and repercussions were immediate. One Colonel McKinnon, posted at Charleston, left town and did not return; and William Myers, having been posted, retired to his plantation and "was not seen in Columbia for ten years." 68

Most men, quite naturally, chose to fight. Henry Laurens, to cite a note-worthy example, admitted that he considered duels as folly; yet he fought at least two, always firing in the air rather than at his opponent. "More than once," he wrote, "I had bravery enough to stand to be shot at, but was too great a coward to kill any man." 64

There were those who had the moral courage to decline challenges and face the resulting music. William H. Drayton, South Carolina jurist, bluntly shook off a challenge from General Charles Lee with the statement that he did not care to "outrage his public character merely to gratify . . . [the general] in the line of his profession." And the famed legislator, Robert Barnwell Rhett, likewise refused to duel. "I frankly admit," he once said, "that I fear God more than I fear man. True courage is best evidenced by the firm maintenance of our principles amidst all temptations and trials." Such courage was commendable. It was also rare.

Posting now and then did what the challenge had failed to do. This was true, for example, concerning Preston Brooks and Louis T. Wigfall. Wigfall had posted Whitfield Brooks, Preston's father, and had killed Thomas Bird for attempting to remove the card. Preston then challenged his father's accuser and in the ensuing duel both men were wounded. ⁶⁷ Another and more serious fight resulting from a posting, had four men firing at each other. As a witness to the event remembered it, "Whaley shot Boyce through and through. Boyce missed completely. Gregg shot Pinckney

⁶¹ Sydnor, "The Southerner and the Laws," p. 18.

⁶² Srygley, Seventy Years in Dixie, p. 309.

⁶³ Faux, Memorable Days in America, pp. 47-48; Julian A. Selby, Memorabilia and Anecdotal Reminiscences of Columbia, South Carolina, and Incidents Connected Therewith (Columbia, 1905), p. 94.

⁶⁴ Cited in D. D. Wallace, The Life of Henry Laurens (New York, 1915), p. 216.

⁶⁵ Sabine, Notes on Duels, pp. 228-30.

⁶⁶ Cited in Laura A. White, Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession (New York, 1931), p. 127.

⁶⁷ Folk, "Code Duello in South Carolina," pp. 22-23.

through the thigh. Pinckney's ball struck Gregg's knife in his vest pocket."68

In sum, duelling with its accompanying evils remained throughout the ante-bellum years as an illustrative phase of South Carolina life. A crime which was not a crime, it points up the strong individuality of the people, their distaste for legal interference in their personal affairs, and their close adherence to class lines. It is, in some measure, a partial explanation of the temper and personality of those who led the nation into a great mass duel, the American Civil War.

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Duelling continued, but at a steadily decreasing tempo, during the Civil War years. By 1866 duels were as rare as they had once been frequent, and the reconstruction period brought no return to the punctiliousness of the code. In large measure "de bottom rail" was on top, and social standing no longer served as an adequate excuse for disturbing the peace. Further, the citizen who had fought his heartbreaking way through four years of fratricidal warfare, no longer had any fear of being branded a coward. To him the duel must suddenly have become an archaism, a foolish bit of child's play.

In 1880 Colonel E. B. C. Cash challenged, fought, and killed William Shannon in Darlington County. Cash was tried for murder, and although acquitted on a technicality, ⁶⁹ the immediate and general public outcry made it clear that duelling was no longer an acceptable method of resolving disputes, and that the successful duellist could no longer hold the respect of his neighbors.

In brief, public opinion had at last crystallized against the duel. And when that happened, the unwritten law gave way to the written and the code of honor died a dishonorable death.

⁶⁸ D. W. Johnson to Edward C. Johnson, Jan. 13, 1835, in Proceedings of S. C. Historical Association 1939, pp. 26-27.

[®] E. B. C. Cash, The Cash-Shannon Duel (Greenville, S. C., 1881); S. W. Henley, The Cash Family of South Carolina (Wadesboro, N. C., 1884).

DISCIPLINE IN EARLY BAPTIST CHURCHES

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By LEAH TOWNSEND*

The early Baptist Church books reveal the active and consistent efforts of the congregations to maintain a strict and searching oversight of the conduct and morals, as well as the faith, of their members. The last seems the real realm of the church, the first two being subject to misuse when communities become less primitive, and law and government take over their proper functions. But until law and government caught up with frontier society, the churches often met the need for fixed and enforcible standards of conduct and morals. Such church actions would seem prying and officious but for the conditions which produced them.

The Baptist congregations were among the most active and vocal of the standard-fixing bodies of our expansion into the wilderness. Watch-care and close inquiry into the reality of religious experience can operate only upon the outward and visible signs of faith, and discipline rounded out the perfect circle of Calvinistic theology by its insistence that though faith is paramount, those who have faith will necessarily behave in certain ways, will inevitably do good works, and fulfil the covenants of faith by zealous performance of religious rites and duties; and if they do not so perform, their faith is fading, and their slackening should be condemned and punished. Discipline had its tonic and restorative sting.

Discipline for purely religious reasons appears clean cut in the case of Welsh Neck Church against one of its elders of 1759, the Rev. Robert Williams:

August 9, 1759. The Revd. Mr. Williams applied for liberty to absent himself from the Lord's Table, and Church Meetings, which the Church thought would be irregular to grant—and being credibly informed that he charges them with such crimes as to prevent his communion, two messengers were sent to desire him to appear the next monthly meeting that the Church may be either convinced of their faults, or vindicate their innocence, and the order of God's house—the Church being informed by two credible witnesses, that the Rev. Mr. Williams disowns himself a member, and says that it is not a Church of Christ, and his disorderly actions speaking the same, it was agreed to send him a letter of admonition in the spirit of meekness.

Mr. Williams contemptuously refused to read their letter, and after repeated admonitions, was ejected. His actions and punishment arose out of doctrinal differences based on his stiff-necked Calvinism, and the Church's somewhat broader practice.

^{*} Author of South Carolina Baptists 1670-1805 (Florence, S. C., 1935).

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In fact, the Welsh Neck Church on April 4, 1762, agreed to admit persons who merely had been sprinkled if they could satisfy the members of their real conversion, but if at any time they showed any tendency to apostatize from the truth, they were to be debarred from communion. On May 2, 1761, Alexander McIntosh and Roderick McIver were admitted to Welsh Neck Church upon confession of faith and experience of godliness after signing the covenant. The Church resumed close communion on July 4, 1761, after a brief period of open communion. The scornful attitude and indignant criticisms of the Rev. Mr. Williams may have turned them back to the more regular practices and position. This was discipline in reverse, for the church had strayed from its established position under the preaching of such elders as the Rev. John Brown, who caused great uneasiness among the orthodox and shortened his pastorate by disseminating unusual opinions about the first resurrection, the last judgment, and the degrees of glory in heaven. A later pastor, Rev. Elhanan Winchester, who preached universal salvation through a disciplinary purgatory, was so careless about teaching his many converts at Welsh Neck the nature of true religion, as to lead to many exclusions and excommunications.

Many Back Country churches were greatly troubled about the enforcement of washing feet, while many other churches of the Pee Dee section had to censure or dismiss pastors for too liberal tendencies, though many of them listened with pleasure and refused to discipline. Rev. Gabriel Gerald of the High Hills [of Santee] Church, reported that congregation for unjust dealing with him, but the committee of Charleston Association investigating his charges, reported that he had printed a pamphlet disseminating unorthodox ideas about the Sabbath. Rev. Jacob Roberts' Church, or Durbin Creek Church, was under associational censure for many years for excommunicating a minority for unjust causes.

Within the congregations doctrinal differences and slack practices met frequent censure. Brother Denman of Shoal Creek Church, for saying something disrespectful of the Church, was found "Ripe for excummunication we give him up to the messinger of Satin for the Distruction of the flesh that the Sperit may be savd in the Day of the Lord." At Cashaway Church, two of the most frequent grounds of discipline were neglecting attendance on Church business days, and paying no attention to the admonitions of the Church. In Black Creek Church, dissension among the members was a frequent offense. Friendship Baptist Church dismissed one of its members for joining the Methodists, and another for joining the Masons. Susannah Summers, of Bush River Church, was excluded for embracing and refusing to renounce the doctrine of universal redemption from Hell. Turkey Creek "cut of (Nancy Hanks') preeledge from the Church for speaking disrespectful of the brethren also for disayowing the truth and for busying

herself in matters that she ought not with young people," and she was later excluded and disowned for her "disorderly walk." Adopting the universalian plan was a frequent offense. The eldership of Head of Enoree Church was forbidden to enter into doubtful disputation in the Church. Siloam Church empowered its deacons to demand the reason if a member repeatedly refused to commune. Rev. John Williams, of Cedar Spring Church, was admonished to handle the Doctrine of Election or predestination in a more tender manner. William Call of Padgetts Creek Church was advised "to set a strict watch over his Conversation in a public gift and to stop when his light is out or in a reasonable time," and the same Church "Labourd with Wm. Pearson about the principle of falling from Grace and he held his principle . . . and is Excommunicated for the same and his hard spirit with the Church."

Although the foregoing constitute clearly the chief legitimate subject matter of church disciplinary action, the churches nevertheless went deeply into the personal conduct of their members and became a powerful adjunct of law and order. Amusements, such as dancing, shooting matches, horse swapping, jumping contests, and drinking spirituous liquors were strictly forbidden to Church members. Cashaway Church Constitutions of 1759 forbade members going to any "horse race, shooting match, or any Publick place of Carnal Mirth or divertion whatsoever" without imperative necessity of which the Church should judge. The most frequent offense of the early days was excessive drinking, and this the churches relentlessly condemned, except in one odd instance at Brushy Creek Church, where Capt. Horatio Griffin, one of the members of the Committee chosen to deal with an accused brother, "rather inclined to wave his being drunk."

The attitude and action of the churches on the moral side of social issues, gave the social tone which continued for generations. Those of us who taught in small communities in South Carolina in the early 1900's remember that they were largely Methodist and Baptist, that they looked upon social drinking and dancing as deadly sins, and upon all amusements except church socials and picnics with suspicion, and were the real force behind the prohibition movement. The Baptist church books of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries prove that discipline as then exercised established the trend and made it rigid.

The purely moral questions with which the churches dealt had their legal aspects. Excessive drinking could lead to arrest and jail, but in the new communities where law had not caught up with community growth, and law enforcement agencies were inadequate or non-existent, the church meetings supplemented them by fixing and enforcing moral standards. Some of these immoralities were such only to the church meetings, others drew down the punishment of the law, others met both forms of con-

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lisresying demnation. Working on Sunday, or requiring servants to work on Sunday, using or charging for the use of boats on Sunday, carrying goods to market on Sunday, or so timing a trip to market as to make the use of Sunday inevitable, all brought severe reproof and frequent dismissal from the churches. Blasphemy, swearing, and fighting met even more severe punishment and proved the looseness of the new communities in manners and morals from the standpoint of the church meetings.

The churches demanded open confession and full proof of real repentance before again admitting those guilty of immorality. Welsh Neck Church suspended John Booth from communion for quarreling with his neighbor, and using profane language. On August 2, 1760, he made application to be restored to his place, and "giving a clear verbal account of his repentance and as nothing could be laid to his charge since his suspension," the Church could not fairly reject him; but as some circumstances gave them occasion "to be jealous over him, lest he was deceiving himself," they informed him of it, and left it to his own conscience "to judge for himself whether it would be best to take his place, or to remain as he is till he has farther examined his heart. Upon which he concluded to delay for that purpose." It was not until April 4, 1761, that John Booth, "giving the Church farther satisfaction as to his repentance, he is to take his place to-morrow, upon a public acknowledgement of his humiliation for his crimes."

Beating one's neighbor, using very abusive language, living in wilful separation for husband or wife, "walking disorderly," plundering, all led to suspension; and the church books list murder, adultery, theft, swearing, and drunkenness as grounds for excommunication, which in many churches was published to the world. A typical example appears in the Welsh Neck Church book, where two members who had been suspended for a long time past,

they still persisting in a course of life contrary to the ruls of the Gospel, and of this Church, notwithstanding all necessary and gospel methods have been made use of to reclaim them; therefore the Church have thought it proper and necessary to cut them off from this Body. Pursuant to this conclusion, we now make it known to all that they are no longer members of this Body. May the Lord Grant that, this ordinance may be the means to bring them to a sense of their evil-ways and to a timely repentance—and to stir-up each of us to watch and be sober lest we enter into temptation.

Public notice of excommunication was a powerful weapon against men and women of conscience, but it is questionable whether public confession of purely personal and moral offenses is beneficial to character. There is more than a suspicion that such confession is too often an outlet for the emotionally unstable, a shuffling off of responsibility for those of easy abas ples, it, is aban ques

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morality, and a chance to show off and to wallow luxuriously in exaggerated abasement to publicity seekers. A decent reticence leads to firmer principles, and too free confession of personal error to any but those hurt by it, is, like a leaking valve, exhausting to the sources of power. The practical abandonment of this form of discipline over the years is a recognition of its questionable benefits and definite dangers after it becomes self-conscious.

Economic questions troubled the churches more than any others brought before them. In their legitimate field of theology, religion, and morals, they spoke with recognized authority, but not so clearly where meanness, harshness, overreaching, and swindling in the course of legitimate business, swung the moral pendulum to evil. Boggy Branch Church of the Pee Dee group was nearly disrupted in 1798, when the Rev. Samuel Bonds, the pastor, had a warrant issued against the son of one of the members, for forgery when the accusation had apparently been disproved. Mr. Bonds soon left the Church. Fraudulent horse-trading bothered all the churches. Strict financial oversight of members was a part of the covenant of Turkey Creek Church, but it soon set its face against being made a forum for the settlement of purely financial questions. A dispute about land the church meeting settled by requiring the disputants to bear the expense equally. On August 11, 1786, the brethren "resolved unanimously that no member of this Church shall sell corn for more than two shillings per bushel nor wheat for more than three shillings per bushel."

Unjust dealing, failure to pay for the care of lost horses, not giving bond after promise to do so, also came before the meeting, which ordered a member to pay half the year's rent, set at five hundred weight of good tobacco, and to consider "lifting" the notes of another to whom he had been hard. Turkey Creek also resolved the question whether it is lawful for a member to swap horses on any occasion by pronouncing it lawful. Big Creek Church censured a member for not paying a note when due, and Head of Enoree Church reprimanded a member for not paying money when due. An erring sister of mature age came upon the charity of Cedar Spring Church, of which her mother and stepfather were members. Although the church decided that as the woman was grown, her parents did not owe her support, the meeting severely condemned their neglect and hardness toward her, declaring both parents out of fellowship, and refusing to let the stepfather exercise his gifts. Padgetts Creek Church investigated charges of fraud, unlawful collection, and too hasty execution for debt. A member in 1803 "laid in a grief against the Church for wronging him out of the money for which he had an execution to gain." Some of the congregation, being "somewhat hurt" with a brother for "going away in peoples debts," Padgetts Creek sent a letter after him, and also curtly ordered Brother Crowder, the minister, to "Settle his own accompt."

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Extortion gave more concern to the churches than any other disciplinary problem. In considering the case of Brother Josiah Burgess, cited for selling corn at a dollar a bushel, and stating that he sold wheat at a dollar and a quarter a bushel, the Church's committee announced that they could not with consistency fix a price for grain, "owing to the various Sircumstances which often attend contracts Respecting that article." The question "What is extortion?" asked in this connection, met the response "To Rec[ei]ve more for an artickel than its Rail Value." In February 1796,

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Brother John McNeill informes the Church that he has attached some of the property of Brother Watson decst, it being the only way he had to come at his Right, the Church Commety sent out on the Matter Repoarts that they find Brother McNeill not out of duty as far as we heare. Brother Moses Denman Complains that there is a matter of tempral deeling betwixt him and Brother John Carter, and that he is not satisfied—the Commete sent out Brings in Report that Brother Denman's Bargain and Brother Carter's Bargain to stand as they made it.

In 1787 Welsh Neck adopted a rule "that agreeably to the word of God it is not right that one member should sue another." Apparently it soon became obvious to the churches that financial oversight of members led directly into those fields which Baptists have consistently eschewed. Church invasion of the realms of law and government, defeating the cardinal principle of separation of church and state, soon ceased—in fact, even in those early days, the cautious answers and decisions of the committees investigating economic offenses, indicate the trend away from interference in financial matters. The definition of "extortion" is clear and to the point, and it is to be noted that the churches did not try to define that evanescent creation of the imagination, "Rail Value"; but the decision that the churches would not fix the price of grain is an equally clear definition of the churches' position and its further decision not to try to define real value.

One or two hundred years have passed since the vigorous disciplinary actions of the churches here recorded. During those years discipline has largely resolved itself into inquiry into matters of faith and practice. Open accusation and confession of personal error or immorality have almost ceased; interference in economic affairs has been definitely repudiated. Relaxation of discipline may indicate loss of zeal and vital faith, but it is most probably the result of changing conditions. In fact, it is questionable whether strict discipline would not deteriorate into spying and informing in any but small and primitive communities, imbued with fresh and militant faith. Each revival brings the churches back to the old positions, but with subtle changes due to prosperity and changing standards. The churches change with years and society, but we like to believe that they are still in the forefront of the battle for personal and public morality.

THROUGH THE UNION LINES INTO THE CONFEDERACY

By LUCY W. BAXTER

Lucy Baxter was a daughter of a New York family in whose home Thackeray spent much time when he came to lecture in America, and it was to her that his Letters To An American Family were addressed. Her sister Sally had married Colonel Frank Hampton (brother of General Wade Hampton), who was killed at the battle of Brandy Station on June 9, 1863. Because of their desperate anxiety for this sister, Lucy Baxter and her father made the trip described below. Mrs. Hampton did not very long survive her husband, and the Baxters had no difficulty in taking home with them the orphaned Hampton children. Lucy Baxter lived to be almost ninety years old. Her account as given below was presented to this Society by Victor C. Barringer, of Sumter, who married Gertrude Hampton, daughter of Frank Hampton, Jr., one of the orphaned children. The information here given is from Mr. Barringer's letter of September 4, 1952, to Samuel G. Stoney. The original manuscript is owned by Mrs. Barringer.

The September sun was lazily shining on that morning of 1862, when the old coach lumbered across the long bridge in Washington, carrying us on a new and dangerous expedition. It was early, and the city was not yet fully astir, for in spite of war-times, the Southern habit of late hours was in force, to a certain extent. We met some tidy, well equipped soldiers, mounted on good horses, and many country wagons, bringing supplies for troops and citizens. It seemed peaceful enough, for the military aspect was not prominent, so that it was hard to believe that we were actually about to break the laws of the land, by entering the Southern lines, expecting to cross the Potomac without a pass. This was not our fault, it had been forced upon us, as after obtaining a pass, in due form in Washington, it was suddenly cancelled, through timidity on the part of the official who had given it. But we were so earnestly longed for in that Southern home where we had passed so many happy hours, that we could not give up the attempt to reach it.

The decision was made to run the blockade, a terrible decision to me, who had a natural love of law and order, and no desire for adventure to carry me through such an undertaking. The die, however, was cast, and as we drove slowly over the quiet Maryland roads, I tried to forget the possible dangers in store for us. It was a typical drive through the Southern country, still green, but not with the freshness of spring, passing through the small country towns where the only sign of life was at the country stores and post offices. There we found the usual group of tall, long-limbed men, with slouched hats, who whips in hand, gathered around the storekeeper or post master, who was reading aloud the last news of the War.

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It was just after the Battle of Antietam [September 16, 1862] and there was much excitement as to the next movements of the army. Tied to the rail fence, or with the bridle thrown over the low branches of a tree, in usual Southern fashion, stood the line of horses, waiting patiently for the masters, so absorbed in talk, combined with much expectorating of tobacco juices. Our progress was slow, gradually our passengers were deposited at different points, until at last no one was left but an old woman to keep us company. At the last small village, as the sun was setting, we were transferred to a smaller vehicle with curtained sides and very feeble looking steeds.

Then began indeed a trial of patience and cheerfulness. It grew darker and darker; the horses stumbed and crawled, and at last actually balked in the middle of a stream, so that the driver had to leave us in the darkness and seek for aid at a neighboring farm house, in order to start them. I stood on a stone in midstream, with the stars shining through the whispering leaves overhead, feeling all the strangeness and loneliness of such a new experience. Only twenty-four hours from New York's hustle and hurrying life, and here we seemed in a wilderness! Of course the darkness gave the touch of remoteness, for no doubt there were country and farm houses, scattered all along the road. The journey seemed long and tedious, before we pulled up at a [door?] at 12 o'clock and hailed the dark house, whose outlines we could just discern. A voice responded to the call, and a man in shirt and trousers, bearing a lamp, came to greet us. The trunks were unloaded; we bade good-night to the sleepy old woman, who was going still further, and followed our guide.

When inside the passage, to my dismay, the man pushed open a door, and placing the lamp on the floor, invited me to enter, at the same time disappearing up the staircase with my father, leaving me entirely alone. As I crossed the threshold of the unknown room, a woman's voice near me said. "Come right into bed, Ma'am as soon as you choose." Fortunately the dim light of the lamp on the floor, had shown me a lounge under the windows, so I could decline the hospitable offer, on the plea of damp clothing, etc. I was again overwhelmed with disamy when, as the man's barefeet were heard descending the stairs, the woman called out, "You can come back, John, the lady won't get into bed." But the man had some sense of propriety, and passed on to another part of the house, to finish his slumbers. Naturally, there was no sleep for me, and in spite of the long fatiguing day's journey, I waited with open eyes for the daylight. It came at last, and as I raised myself, beginning to wonder where and how a toilet could be made, the voice from the bed exclaimed eagerly, "I do just wish you'd give me the pattern of that gown." In spite of fatigue and discomfort such a remark was, in the incongruity, a sharp test to my gravity!

The breakfast table revealed a most heterogeneous household. I was the

only woman present, but there were men of all ages, and conditions. From a tall, handsome young man, showing his French blood, who proved to be a cousin of one of our relatives at the North, to most unattractive and ordinary specimens of the male sex, one and all, were *smugglers*. They had come from the Virginia shore, moved either by necessity or the desire of profit, to procure some of the articles already so scarce in the Southern states, altho this was still so early in the War.

During the morning, arrangements were made for our greater comfort as to rooms and beds, and for the few days during which we had to wait for our "boat" to cross the Potomac. We were reasonably well accommodated. We wandered about in the sunshine, and tried to be patient, but the strain was very great. At last word was sent us of an "opportunity" and we were rowed with our trunks across a little creek, to the lustrous shore of the Potomac. Then began the real danger of our progress, for a body of United States Cavalry patrolled the very roads over which we had to pass. I shall never forget the breathless suspense of the four miles we had to drive, while my father and the driver hung over the sides of the carriage, watching the hoof prints in the dust, of the body of Cavalry, to ascertain if they had already passed northward or might still overtake us!

We reached the house where we were to be sheltered for the night, as the sun was setting and were most kindly welcomed by Mr. B. and his family, although we were complete strangers to them. They knew our errand, however, and their hearts were touched by our terrible anxiety. All night as the waters of the Potomac splashed under my window, I felt sure that the Cavalry had found us out, and that I heard their horses feet surrounding the house! The next day was passed, sitting on the shore, watching the gunboats on their constant patrols, and in my ignorance, it seemed to me impossible that we could hope to escape their vigilance, they looked so dark, stern, and relentless, that I pictured them pouncing upon us, and in spite of our pleas of sincerity, carrying us all to prison in disgrace. The young daughters of the family sat beside me talking placidly of some incidents of the War, which had merely brought variety and interest, not sorrow into their quiet lives. Although just across the Potomac, Virginia was already trampled and desolated by the continual passing of troops, both Northern and Southern, to them had come no change, no anguish of separation, no strain of awful anxiety as to the fate of those fondly loved. There was no brother to take up his gun for the cause, and Mr. B. was too old for an active part. Probably his sympathies leaned to the Southern side, but he had done nothing to draw suspicion upon him, and it was only in consideration for the nature of our journey that he undertook to forward it. He would receive no compensation for the shelter and assistance that he afforded us, and his tender sympathy for me, helped me greatly.

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Presently the sun dipped out of sight, the trees stood out in black masses against a band of deep orange-colored sky and heavy shadows lay close to the shores. Through these shadows came stealing noiselessly a long black open boat, heavily laden with boxes, and rowed by men all in dark clothes. Our trunks were put on board and then Mr. B. helped me to my seat, patting my shoulder kindly and saying a few words of encouragement, sorely needed, for tears were very near at hand. There were four men besides the Captain, and with my father, myself, and the many boxes, we had a heavy load. I sat on a box of smuggled shoes, with my feet on a case of smuggled coffee. We shot quickly away from the protecting shadows and I caught my breath as we passed into the broad stream with the daylight still clear upon it. But the time had been carefully chosen and there were no gunboats in sight. Silently, not a word being spoken, we gained the shadows of the opposite shore. All seemed going well when we were almost swamped by getting into some shallows, and the men had to jump over into the water and, holding the boat on each side, guide it into safety. Again we started when suddenly the Captain exclaimed in a hoarse whisper, which was terribly startling, "Back water, back water, quick, the boats are on us." He was a highly excitable man, and no doubt had had his nerves sorely tried, in previous expeditions. So the boat was turned into the shore, and it was decided to land, and wait an hour or two until the River was more quiet. The men, who were evidently traders, hardly accustomed to polite usages, showed me the greatest consideration and courtesy. We landed, made our way through the bushes to a spot where a fire could be lighted without fear of detection, and stretching our travelling shawls, made ourselves as comfortable as could be expected. It was a strange and picturesque scene—the starry sky above us; the circle of silent men, all strangers; my father and I so far from home, and the further progress so uncertain!

Our second start was made after midnight, and even then we did not reach at once the mouth of the large creek which was to take us to the landing place. The Captain insisted on running into a smaller creek, while he and the men crossed a point of land and reconnoitered so as to be sure that there were no gunboats watching the entrance to the desired creek. For hours we lay moored in this awful damp of the Virginia marshes, which rose and circled about us, dropping like rain on the umbrellas we were obliged to use for protection. The stars were well above our heads but between was this heavy veil of mist, which chilled us to the bone and whispered malaria at every moment.

Our nervous Captain was at last reassured, the voyage was resumed, and the much desired entrance to the creek was made as the day began to dawn. We rowed several miles under the dripping trees and bushes to the landing place, and from thence walked nearly two miles in the same dampness to the house which was to shelter us. It was a much bedraggled young woman who arrived at the large rambling house, and the new-look costume which had been so favorably regarded by the Maryland hostess, presented a greatly tarnished and very sorry appearance.

A household of young women regarded me with undisguised curiosity and were very eager to hear "news from the North," which we were not disposed to give. They looked with such envy at the pins and hairpins which my box contained that I could not refuse to leave them all I could spare. It was my first experience of the feminine share of the deprivation of war times.

After a day's delay, a rough wagon was furnished us and we drove for miles over deeply rutted roads to a large town where we could be accommodated at a hotel. Arriving only in time for supper, we were aroused at 4 o'clock in the morning in order to reach the railway in time for a morning train. It was a terrible ordeal, for the condition of the roads was such that I was fain to crouch in the bottom of the vehicle to escape the tremendous jolting, while my father walked beside the driver for many miles. The Virginia soil lends itself easily to holes and ruts and there were no roadmenders left at home. After taking the train, we proceeded at a snail's pace, for the want of materials for necessary repairs, made rapid travelling very unsafe. As it was, we could not escape an accident, which through the spreading of a rail, carried the engine off the track and brought us to a halt, but without injury to any one. A train had to be sent from the other end of the track and we were transferred, passengers and baggage, in the middle of the night. For us, it meant simply inconvenience and delay, but some of the cars were filled with the wounded men from Antietam, and to them this enforced change meant torture. As we stumbled along over the rough road, lighted only by the flaring pine knots as torches, the wounded were carried past us.

I saw one great figure, a man who must have stood over six feet before the battle, was "toted" on the back of his "boy", with both legs shot off! As they passed the Negro said "Hold on Massa, it's powerful rought long hyah." "Go on, Jim," said the master, "I recon I can bear it, if you can." The hard breathing of the Negro, and the drawn lines of the officer, showed what was the suffering for both, but there was not a word of complaint! The next morning as the train drew up at the stations along the road, one after the other the long wooden boxes placed on the platforms, told of those whose suffering was over, but the wails of grief with which these lads' arrival were greeted, made my heart ache almost beyond bearing. And to think that these same scenes were being enacted, as the trains sped northwards as well as here! At such times it is hard to subscribe to the doctrine, that there are some disputes which can only be settled by war.

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Richmond was reached in the early afternoon, and in the warlike hustle and confusion transfiguring this quiet town of my former [visits?] all that was exciting or unusual in our journey ended. Our return was very simple, being passed through the Southern lines, we took the Flag of Truce boat on the James River and were carried to Fortress Monroe and then up the Chesapeake. We reached New York after an absence of five weeks, during which time, in spite of almost daily letters, and several telegrams, sent as we thought by safe hands, not one word from us had reached those left at home, to relieve their terrible anxiety.

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EPITAPH OF THOMAS TAYLOR OF UNION COUNTY

Contributed by W. DAN QUATTLEBAUM¹

I have seen many old and odd inscriptions on tombstones from Boston to Savannah, but when I visited the ghost town of Pinckneyville² in Union County about the year 1940, I saw a very unusual one on a horizontal slab over a slightly raised grave. I copied the epitaph from the tombstone as given below:

THOMAS TAYLOR

1776-1832

Silent grave to thee I trust This precious part of worthy dust; Keep it safe, O worthy tomb, Until a wife shall ask for room.

I asked a man who lived a few hundred yards from the tomb if he knew anything of the wife's later history; he replied that according to tradition, she changed her mind, married again, and went out West.

¹ Retired Baptist minister, 1925 Paloma Street, Pasadena, California.

² Pinckneyville was the courthouse village of Pinckney District (Stat. V, 210), which was created in 1791, containing Chester, Union, Spartanburg, and York counties; the district was abolished in 1800, when the component counties became circuit court districts (Stat. VII, 261–265, 284). The village has disappeared, but in 1936 a granite marker was erected on the site by Union County. Editor.

JAMES L. ORR ON CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

EDITED by MARTIN ABBOTT

Emory University

When the voters of South Carolina in late 1865 elected James L. Orr governor, they chose a man more capable, perhaps, than any other of guiding the state through the troublous months ahead. In the year and a half between his inauguration and the writing of the following letter, Orr had followed a moderately liberal course in his handling of the freedmen question. While on the one hand he had not advocated enfranchisement of the blacks, on the other he had successfully urged the legislature to revise the state's "black code" in the interest of greater justice and legal equality. Believing that the leaders of the state, given time, could evolve a suitable compromise between white and black, he was deeply disturbed to learn that Northern radicals had succeeded in their initial effort to undo presidential plans for rehabilitation of the South. News that Congress had passed the first reconstruction act on March 2, 1867, establishing military government in the Southern states, extending suffrage to Negroes, and disfranchising ex-Confederates, prompted Orr to unbosom his fears in the following letter² to Attorney-General Henry Stanberry in Washington.

Private and Confidential

11 March 1867

Dear Sir:

The news from Washington during the past three weeks has greatly surprised us. We could not believe that such an unjust, oppressive . . . [torn word undecipherable] and dictatorial measure would have found its way through an American Congress.

But as it is, it is said that we are to be subjected to much more extreme measures if we even hesitate to accept the obnoxious act. If their purpose of this is rejected, to resort to universal confiscation. As you are aware, the negroes in this state outnumber the whites 120,000 and the universal suffrage given by the act puts the convention, constitution and legislature under their control and for aught that appears in the act, every delegate and member may be a negro.

It is not by any means certain that they will vote as a unit unless emissaries are sent among them to poison their minds against the whites.

What is best for us in this terrible extremity to do?

¹ For appraisals of Orr's administration see Francis B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction (Chapel Hill, 1932), pp. 44-47, 58-63, and Lillian Kibler, Benjamin F. Perry: South Carolina Unionist (Durham, 1946), pp. 435-37.

² The original letter is in possession of Mrs. Humphrey Black, Greenville.

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, 210), councircuit 1936 a If the negroes go to the polls, I greatly fear that imprudent men will precipitate riot and bloodshed which may lead to a collision of the races with all its horrible consequences.

If, however, we reject it, the present congress having two years to run, with its malignity and undisputed power will perhaps pass general confiscation laws—disfranchise every white man who was in sympathy with the rebellion, give the entire control of the country to the negroes who will perpetuate their power, confirming the disability. Such a course would transform at least six of the ten Southern States into negro... [torn word undecipherable]. Every dollar of real and personal property would be confiscated and divided out amongst the negroes. It seems to me that the radical party are resolved on imposing on us the most abject degradation, forgetting that such degradation is not likely to make us or our posterity better citizens, or more devoted to the government. Under the circumstances, what should we do?

Do write me fully and frankly at your earliest convenience and your communication shall be held under strictest confidence—unless you instruct otherwise.

I am very truly your friend and obedient servant, JAMES L. ORR RE

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REGIMENTAL BOOK OF CAPTAIN JAMES BENTHAM, 1778-1780

Contributed by Robert Bentham Simons

(Continued from April)

12 Mar. 1780

The troops are to be paraded for fatigue every morning at Guard mounting at the Exchange till further orders. One third of the Troops off Duty are to parade every evening at Retreat beating. They are to compose a picquet which will lie on their arms and be ready to turn out at a moment's warning. Those of the Brigade w'ch lie at their allarm posts may rest in their Camps or quarters but those of the Brigades w'ch lie at a distance must be lodged in some house or tents pitched for that purpose contiguous to their allarm posts.

			Detail
1 Batt.	1	1	21
Grend.			2
Forrest's		1	2
Lt. Inf'y			3
Fusileers			7
T Blues	1		4
Vol's			3
	1	1	21

13 March 1780

<i>B</i> .	G.	Gen'l Lillington	
F	0	Lt Col Hinton	

Major Dunbibin tomorrow

B. M. Capt. Talliaferro

21 212 1	Cupu ac	for Guard Detail tomorr					row
		C	L	S	C	D	Men
	1 Batt'n	1	1	1	1	1	21
G.							3
For							2
LI		1			1		2
Fus							7
TB							5
Vol's			1	1			2
		1	1	1	1		21

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14 March 1780

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B. G. F. O.	Gen'l McIntosh Col. Malmady	7
B.M.	Major Moultrie Major Simons	

Wm. Patterson (of the Forresters) found guilty of neglecting to Sleep in Barracks and fined 100 pounds.

Finlinson (charged with the same Neglect) and fin'd 20 Dollars.

Step. Pharoch (charg'd with the same Neglect) and fin'd 20 Dollars.

Sam'l McCorkal (charg'd with the same Neglect)—acquitted—.

Geo. Buckle charg'd with the same Neglect-fined 20 Dollars.

Jno Mitchell (charg'd with the same Neglect-fined 20 Dollars.

Jno. Phillips (of the Fusileers) accused of not joining his Company at the allarm post on the 11th Inst.—fined 10 Dollars—.

H'y Leibenhentz (charg'd with the same) acquitted.

A Court of Enquiry to sit immediately to inquire into the Conduct of Capt. Lushington for a Breach of Militia Duty while Capt. of the Main Guard. By report of the Marq. De Britignay Col. of Militia and at whose request this Court is ordered. The Court to consist of 1 field officer, 3 Capt's, 3 Sub's. Lt. Col. Huger is appointed president who will appoint the place for the Court to meet and sit.

The M. De Britignay to support the charge.

Detail for Guard tomorrow

	C	S	S	C	D	Men
Grend.		1				3
Forrest.						2
L Inf'y						4
Fusileers						7
TB						5
Vol.						3
		1				24

All the tools in the hands of the diff't Brig'es are this Evening to be lodged at the Batt'y on Cummings' Point. No other fatigue to be paraded unless by after orders. The Officers of the differ't guards are desired to make two reports of their Guards, one to be sent at troop beating on Grand parade, the other to be delivered to the relieving officer.

15 March 1780

F. O. Gen'l Hogan
Col. Sheppard
Maj. Badderlay
Maj. Andrews

No officer will be received on Parade unless he has Side arms a Fusil or Espontoon.

			D_0	Detail tomorrow		
	C	S	S	C	Men	
1 Batt.	1		1	1	24	
G.			1		3	
Forrest.					2	
L. I.					4	
Fusileers				1	7	
TB					5	
Vol.					3	
	1		1	1	24	

The fatigue to be paraded tomorrow morn'g at 6 o'clock and relieved at one in the same manner as today.

16 March 1780

The Court of Enquiry to inquire into the conduct of Capt. Lushington are of opinion that he is subject to a trial by a Militia Court. The Court of Enquiry is disolved and a Militia Court is order'd to sit on Capt. Lushington. Major Moultrie president. Capt. Bocquet Read and Burke with 1 Sub. from the 1st and 2 from the 2d Batt'n. The pres't to appoint a place and time for the Court to sit.

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20. 0.		ACM A A	arrest P	OOM					
F. O.	Col. Lytle Maj. Hogg				tomorrow				
В. М.		Capt. (ock					
				Detail	for Guard-	-tomorrou			
	C	S	S	C	Men				
G					3				
F	1				2				
LI			1		4				
Fus		1			7				
TB				1	5				
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B. G. Gen'l Lillington

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17 Mar 1780

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Gen'l McIntoch Col. Hampton Maj. Son

B. M. Sharp

					Detail tomorrow
	C	S	S	C	
G				1	3
\mathbf{F}					3
LI					3
Fus					7
TB					4
Vol					4

Return of the 1st Batt'n made the 17 Mar. 1780.

	C	S	S	С	QMS	Clk	D&f	Sick	PS	Fit for Duty
Grend.	1	2	4			1	1	3	12	22
Forrest.	1	2	1	2		1		6	6	20
Lt. Inf'y.	1	1	2					6	7	22
Fusileers	1	2	4			1	1	4	13	52
T Blues	1	2	2	1		1		4	6	37
Vol's	1	3	2	2		1		7	5	21
	6	12	15	5		5	2	30	49	174

March 18, 1780.

G. O.

B. G. General Hogan Col. De Britgny Major Lewis

B. M. Capt. Craddock —G. O. The Guards to be supply'd with a Gill of Rum Immediately, the returns to be sign'd by the officer Commanding, the Guard, if Commissioned, if not by the F'd Officer of the Day.

B. O. The Adj't of the 1st and 2d Battalions are desired to make an Exact return of the Strength of their respective Batt'ns tomorrow Morning to the Brigade Major.

They are also desired to furnish him with the dates of the Field Officers Commissions.

Lost or Stolen out of Col. Heth's Holsters yesterday forenoon, a Neat Iron screw Barrell Pistol, the Lock and Barrell, in one Piece.

C[S[ign]]

Thirty Dollars will be given to any person who will deliver it to Col. Heth and no Questions Ask'd. Col. Smith's Commiss. dated 31st Oct. 1777. Major Moultrie's dated 6 Sept. 1779.

B. O. In order to make the duty as Light as possible only the 1st Battalion appear at the Alarm Post to Morrow Morning and the 2d the Next Morning and so to Continue till further Orders. But in Case of Alarm the Whole to turn out Immediately.

The Party Ordered to Impress Negroes are to Conduct them to General Gadsden and remain with them placing such Sentries as are Necessary until Discharg'd by him.

-				
Detail	for	to	M	orronn
To Come	200	00	200	011000

						De	tail for to Morrow
		C	L	S	C	D	Men
1st Ba	tta.	1	1	1	1	1	24
1 do				1			11 to impress Negroes
		1	1	2	1	1	35
	C	L	S	C	D &	t f	Men
G							5
F				1			4
LI	1						5
Fus		1	1		1		10
TB			1				6
Vol's							5
	1	1	2	1		1	35
							19 March 1780
	P	ar[ol	le]				

Gen'l Lillington B. G.

F.O. Lt. Col. Marion Major Lewis

B. M. Major Simons

		Det	tail tor	norrou)
	C	L	S	C	Men
G					3
F					3
LI				1	3
Fus					6
TB					5
Vol's		1	1		4
	-	1	1	1	24

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19 March 1780

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									-			
Companies	Capt'n.	Sub's.	Serg't.	Corporals	Clerks	Fit for Duty		Sub. on Command	on Command	Pub. service	D&f	total
Grend.	1	1	3		1	21	3	1	2	12	1	46
Forres.	1	2	1	2		21	6		1	8		42
Lt. Inf'y	1	1	2		1	23	5		2	7	1	43
Fusileers	1	2	4	4	1	42	6		4	13	1	78
T Blues	1	2	2	2		26	9		3	6		51
Vol's.	1	3	2	1		23	6		2	4		42
	-		-					-				

6 11 14 9 3 156 35 1 14 50 3 302

B. O. The party to impress negroes is order'd to be augmented to

C S S 1 1 1 and 37 R & f

Detail to impress Negroes

				Deuti
	C	S	S	
	1		1	20
G			1	2
F				2
LI				2 3 6
Fus				6
TB	1	1		4
Vol's				3
	1	1	1	20

20 March 1780

G. O.

B. G. Gen'l McIntoch

F. O. Lt. Col. Henderson Major Harleston

B. M. Major Andrews

Detail

1	Batt'n	1	1	1	1	1	24 Guard
1	do						20 Impress

G. O. The whole of the Garrison off Duty to be paraded at the Horn work at 4 o'clock this afternoon for fatigue.

		1	Deta	il			
	C	L	S	C	D	Men	Impress
G		1			1	3	2
F			1			3	2
LI						3	2 3
Fus				1		6	6
TB						5	4
Vol's	1					4	3
	1	1	1	1	1	24	20

21 March 1780

C Sign

Par
Detail tomorrow

CLSC

1 Batt. 1 1 1 1 24 Guard 1 do 1 1 1 1 20 Priv.

	C	S	S	C	D	Men		In	pre	ess
							C		S	Men
G						3	1			2
F						3		1		2
LI			1			3				3
F						6			1	6
TB				1		5				4
Vol's		1				4				3
	-	1	1	1		24	1	1	1	20

22 March 1780

The Court is to make a report tomorrow morning when the Court will be disolved—all persons charg'd with offences are to be tried by a New Court of which Capt. Hall is President.

All the Men off Duty are immediately to go on Board Capt. Lockwood and assist in bringing the Cannon on Shore.

All the loaded Arms which cannot be Drawn are to be discharg'd tomorrow morning at 7 o'clock and then put in the nicest order.

Detail

	1	1	2	1	33			20
Vol's		1	1	1	5			3
TB			1		6			4
Fus					8			6
LI					4 5 8			2 3 6
F	1				4			2
G					5			2
	\mathbf{C}	S	S	\mathbf{C}	Men	1		
	1		do			_		20 Press
	1	B	att'n	1	1	2	1	33 Guard
				C	S	S	C	

The Guard to be relieved precisely at 8 o'clock in the morning.

23 March

B. G.	Gen'l McIntoch	
F.O.	Lt. Col. Wallace tomorrov	V
	Maj. Dunbibin	

B. M. Capt. Talliaferro

TB

Vol's

				L)etail					
1 Bat	t'n	(C	S	S	(3	M	len	
1 de	0		1	1	1	2	2			Guard Press
	\mathbf{C}	S	S	C	Men	C	S	8	C	Men
G			1	1	5					2
F				1	4					2
LI					5	1	1			3
Fus					8					6

1	1	2	33	1	1	20

6

5

The Cour	t of	which	Capt.	Bryan	is	President	report-	
----------	------	-------	-------	-------	----	-----------	---------	--

Arth'r Downes, for n	ot sleep'g in Barracks fined	40 1	Dollars
Jno Cars	for the same offence fin'd	20	do
Wm. Davies	Do	20	do
H'y Perronneau	Do	20	do
Nich's Smith	Do	20	do

The Charles Town R.M. is to parade at South Bay this morning at 9 o'clock with their arms and accoutrement, and it is expected that every man liable to do duty in the C T M will attend at the time and place above mentioned properly arm'd and accoutred—by order of the Governor.

24 March 1780

Gen'l Hogan
Col. Hopkins
Major Badderlay
Major Simons

The troop will beat and the Guard be paraded at 7 o'clock in the morning—Orderly hours 10 and 5.

Lieut. Chiffelle of the Forresters, Mr. Jno. Webb of the True Blues and Mr. Jno. Wells of the Light Infantry are to attend the Court of which Capt. Hall is president at the House of Mr. Heyward in Church Street tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

							I	Deta	il	
		C		S	S	C				
1 Batt.		1		1	1	1	22 Guard 20 Press			
								Pı	ess	
	C	S	S	C	Men	C	S	S	C	Men
G					3					2
F					3					2
LI					3			1		3
us	1	1			6					6
TB					4					4
Vol's					3					3
	1	1		1	22			1		20

rs

B. O. The whole Brigade except those on Duty to Parade at the So Bay precisely at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning. Col. Britignay's Reg't. to form on the Left.

6 Men from the 1st and 4 from the 2d Batt'n, to reinforce the Main Guard immediately.

25 March 1780

G. O.	Parole	C Sign
B. G.	Gen'l McIntoch Lt. Col. Smith	
	Major Hogg	

B. M. Major Postell

					Detail		
		C	S	S	C	Men	
1	Batt'n			1		22	
1	do	1	1			20	
		1	1	1		42	

The fatigue to parade tomorrow as directed the 22d but at the Horn work instead of the Exchange.

B. O. It is the Gov'r express orders that no person belonging to the C T M be excused from sleeping in Barracks without showing a Certificate from him to the Commanding officer of the Comp'y to which he belongs.

is

GFLFT

	Detail										
	C	S	S	C	Men	C	S	S	Men		
G					3				2		
F					3				2		
LI					3				3 6		
Fus.					6		1		6		
TB			1		4	1			4		
Vol's					3				3		
			1		22	1	1		20		

26 March 1780

G. O.	B.G.	Gen'l Hogan Lt. Col. Harleston Maj. Nelson	tomorrow
		Capt. Craddock	

It being necessary that all boats should be oblig'd to land at one place and the Fish Market Wharf being the most convenient, the different Guards are order'd to prevent any boat passing from the Town without previously examining it, and to stop any persons that may not be mentioned in the pass. They are also to suffer no boat to land at any wharf or landing place in the Neighborhood of their post but oblige them to proceed to the Fish Market. Capt. Tufts is appointed to superintend all the boats in the harbour and none are to pass without a written permit from him from the Gov'r or from Head Quarters; the permit to mention the number of Whites and Blacks and the names of all passengers who are to be suffered to pass. Patroles are to be sent out from the different Guards within the Lines every two hours, with orders to take up and send to the Main Guard every Sailor who may be found in any of the Streets or Houses in Town (except the Bay Street) unless they have a written pass from Com'r Whipple or an officer with them.

This order to be immediately communicated to the officer of the Day.

B. O. The whole of the 1st and 2d Batt'n to be at their allarm post on So Bay every morning at 5 o'clock 'till further orders.

G. A. O.

As Gen'l Moultrie is to direct the disposition of the Artillery at the diff't Batt'n and works in and about the Town; all orders relative thereto issued by him are to be obeyed.

									Det	ail		
				(C	S	S		C	1	Men	
1 Batt.						1	1			20	Press.	
1		do	do		l	1	1		1		22	Guard
				Gu	ard					Pr	ess	
						D_{ϵ}	etail	l				
		C	S	S	\mathbf{C}	Men		C	S	S	C	Men
G		1				3				1		2
F						3						2
LI						3						3
Fus						6						6
TB					1	4						4
Vol's			1	1		3						3
		1	1	1	1	22				1		20

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27 March 1780

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Returns from the 1st and 2 Batt'n. to be made immediately. The fatigue to parade at 7 o'clock in the morning.

						De	tail					
				C	S	S	C	Me	n			
	1	Bat	tt'n.			1	1	21				
	1	do		1	1			19				
				1	1	1	1	40				
		C	S	S	C	Me	n	C	S	S	C	Men
G						3						2
F				1		3		1				2
LI						3						2 3 6 3
Fus						5						6
TB						4			1			3
Vol's	3				1	3						3
				1	1	21		1	1			19

[Charleston harbor having been abandoned to the British, the Americans now held a council of war at General Lincoln's headquarters on Tradd Street, to consider whether to evacuate Fort Moultrie, but decided not to do so. Ed.]

28 March 1780

F.O.	Ge	en.]	Hog	an	Col.	Col. Mebane							
	M	ajor	H	arles	ton	(Cap	t. T	alia	ferro			
		Detail											
	C	S	S	C	Men	C	S	S	C	Men			
G		1		1	3					2			
\mathbf{F}					3					2			
LI	1				3			1		3			
Fus			1		5					6			
TB					4					6 3 3			
Vol's					3					3			
	1	1	1	1	21			1		19			

A. O. The field officers are requested to visit the Guards and Piquets separately during the Night, by which means they will be a constant succession of visiting officers. The Bells of Saint Michals Church are to be rung by somebody appointed for that purpose from the Main Guard, every Quarter of an hour throughout the night, and the Sentries of the different Guards as soon as they hear it are to Cry aloud All is Well, which will be communicated through the line of Sentries, these Orders to be communicated to the Brigade General of the day immediately.

In case of Alarm the Marines, the James Island Company, the Detachment of the Berkley County Regiment under the Command of Lt. Garden, The Troop of Horry's dismounted Dragoons, and Col. Moultrie's Corps are to occupy that part of the Lines between Mr. Livingstons house and Gibbs Wharf and to be under the Command of Col. Malmady.

The Fatigue tomorrow as Usual.

[By the end of March, the British had practically completed their investing of Charleston. The siege opened early in April. Ed.]

28 April 1780

B. G. Woodford
Col. Nevil
Lt. Col. Mebane

Maj Stevenson

B. M. Pelham

B. G. DuPortail chief Eng'r of the . . .

[Part of loose page between sheets of book]:

29 April 1780

Parole C S

B. G. Scott
Col. Heath
Lt. Col. Lytle
Major Harris
B. M. Capt. Craddock

The tattoo is not to be beaten until further orders. Col. Malmady will send to the orderly officer this evening a written report of the Vacation of Hobcaw and also a return of the Troops, Artillery and Stores... and left behind at that Post

... to the Sally Port on the right, Six to the Horn Work, four to the Sally Port on the Left and three to Battery No. 6 to be delivered to the Guards in those places and Employ'd as Yesterday.

[The remainder of the book is missing. On May 12, 1780, the siege of Charleston ended in surrender to the British. Ed.]

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LETTER FROM MRS. MARGARET MANIGAULT TO MRS. ALICE IZARD, 1814

Edited by Bernerd C. Weber and Brooks Thompson

University of Alabama

The original of the letter printed below is in the Ralph Izard papers, Library of Congress. Margaret Manigault (1768–1824), widow of Gabriel, was a daughter of Ralph Izard, famous for diplomatic services abroad during the American Revolution. This letter, written by Mrs. Manigault while living in Philadelphia, to her mother in South Carolina, is interesting for its reflection of international news. This interest in foreign affairs was natural, because Mrs. Manigault had spent some years abroad while her father's family was stranded in Europe during the Revolution.¹ When receiving her education in London, Brussels, and Paris, her interest in European affairs was quickened. An examination of the Ralph Izard papers reveals that the collection contains primarily correspondence between mother and daughter, which verifies the assertion in the letter below that Mrs. Manigault sent weekly missives to her mother.

The editors have transcribed the original letter with all peculiarities of spelling, but have expanded abbreviations and made slight additions to punctuation for the sake of clarity. A short postscript, partially illegible, has been omitted.

Mrs. Alice Izard² Landsford, Catawba River, Via Camden South Carolina

Philadelphia 19th. June 1814

Before long, it is to be hoped, my dear Mother, that your Post Office will be better regulated than it is now. I cannot imagine what can cause the disappointment about my letters to you. I never fail to send them on Sunday Evening to the Post here. Toby is always the messenger, and I put them into his hand myself. Last year, towards the end of the season, my friends at Catawba mentioned that things were much better conducted, and they received their letters with great punctuality.

You must now muster strong in your high houseboat. On the 8th. my brother expected to be with you; and I hope that very soon after that Mr. Morris' family joined you.

Mr. Walsh is returned to Philadelphia. He left the Abbate well, but was

¹ Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, No. 2 (Charleston, 1889), pp 81-82.

² Daughter of Peter de Lancey of the distinguished New York family, she was born in West Chester in 1745, and died in Philadelphia, April 1, 1832. She married Ralph Izard of The Elms, near Charleston, May 1, 1767, and had six sons and eight daughters, the eldest daughter being Margaret. Widowed, Mrs. Izard resided in Philadelphia, where her salon and card parties were much frequented by society. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VIII, 16 ff; and this Magazine, II, 216.

himself very much fatigued with the small part of the journey he partook in. The wonderful success of the Allies and the restoration of the Bourbons were not known to him (Abbate) before his departure.3 He did not expect either, and prognosticated misery and blood shed in the latter case. He will be delighted to find that his dear Paris is safe, and his friends in quiet possession of their lives and property, although his predictions have not been verified. It is said that Louis 18 is not satisfied with the manner of doing the thing. They do not invite him to come and take possession of his Right—but they depose Buonaparte, and elect him. There is an interesting pamphlet written by Chateaubriand,4 part of which you will see published in The Register—it is said that Marie Louise, Buonaparte's last Wife, was anxious to go with him—but this is only report, and we cannot believe it. It is said too that Buonaparte is to have the Sovereignty of Elba, and to preserve the title of Emperor—If so, it must be in derision surely. Emperor of Elba! He who found the whole of France with his additional conquests too small a field for his ambition! I think that he will not live to reach his little Prison, and to write the memoirs which he promised to write. A very unpleasant thing has taken place here. Mr. William Cox eldest son of Mr. Cox of Market Street, was an Officer on board the Chesapeake. There was an investigation made of the conduct of the whole—a Court Martial upon those who were blamed, and the sentences are now published.7 This young man is cashiered, and declared incapable of holding any place, or of living in the U.S. His sister Mrs. Markoe is said to be very much distressed, and the whole family to feel it very much What a misfortune! He is now here, and was seen about the street as usual until two days ago when the thing was published in some of the newspapers.

The Frigate Guerriere⁸ is to be launched tomorrow. Mme. de Jeaubezow

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³ Louis XVIII entered Paris May 3, 1814, and took residence at the Tuileries.

⁴ Probably Chateaubriand's pamphlet De Bonaparte, des Bourbons, et de la necessite de se pallier a nos princes legitimes, which appeared March 31, 1814, the day Allied armies entered Paris.

⁵ Marie Louise (d. 1847), empress of the French (1810-1815), duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (1816-1847), was daughter of Emperor Francis II, second wife of Napoleon I, and mother of Napoleon II.

⁶ Landed from an English frigate, his formal arrival on Elba took place May 4,

⁷ Charged with cowardice, disobedience of orders, desertion from quarters, neglect of duty, and unofficer-like duty, during the fight between the "Shannon" and the "Chesapeake," Cox was found guilty on the last two counts because he accompanied Commander James Lawrence, who had been wounded, below deck when his presence was needed to command his crew. Cox was cashiered, with perpetual incapacity to serve in the navy. Niles Register (1814) VI, 314.

⁸ Launched at Philadelphia, July 20, 1814, before an estimated crowd of 50,000. Niles Register, VI, 281.

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has requested me to confide my daughters to her if I did not choose to accept of Mr. Jodenstrom's invitation urging [them] to go on board a Swedish Brig which he had had prepared for the occasion, and which was to be properly attended with hooks, chains, pullies &c. And they will go. Mme de J- drank tea with us last week again, and I found her very entertaining. She was in Lisbon when the court embarked for the Brazils9-and when the french took possession of every thing. It is highly interesting to receive accounts of these trying events from an eyewitness, and one who suffered in them. She is remarkably free from all kind of affectation, and expresses herself with great plainness, but with warmth. Junot, 10 the french general was acquainted with Mr. Jeaubezow, and had promised to protect his family. He was obliged to follow the court, and he could not, because he had a child very ill. Many of the ladies about the court, of the highest rank had not been allowed time to embark an article of clothing—they had no beds. and bought the tailors shirts of check to make them for themselves. Mme. de J. in Lisbon had opportunities, she told me, of serving many of her friends and acquaintances, and she has all the appearance of possessing an excellent heart.

Mrs. Carnac is come with her family to the Cottage. They are now rich; but they seem to take pleasure in saving here, with a view to spending in England. They have not Ensemble in their taste. That is the kind of thing which the English are celebrated for. Every thing to pick; all of a piece. But poor Mrs. Carnac buys a broken lot of china in one place—one in another-one in a third-and she has a strange heterogeneous mixture, but it is french China. She buys a set of curtains at one auction—a set of chairs at another—and has a tawdry looking room with ill matched furniture. Only think of Mrs. Craig's carriage built only the year before she died and costing 800\$, perfectly well kept and in high preservation, selling for 250\$! Mr. Crawford bought it. Mme. de Pary is going to France. She soon made up her mind, after the arrival of the late news. She will not go before October. She has several arrangements to make, among others to sell her pretty, convenient house, which is remarkably cheap and if it was but a size or two larger, would suit me. It cost her only 4500\$, ground rent included. Her children are delighted at returning to France.

I must find this [sic] little blank space to make my obeisance, and to assure you my dear Mother, that I am every your dutiful and affectionate M.I.M.

⁹ When Napoleon I conquered Portugal, King John VI fled and Rio de Janeiro became capital of the Portuguese Empire.

¹⁰ Andoche Junot (d. 1813), Duke of Abrantes, commanded the French invasion of Portugal.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE OF CHARLESTON

(Continued from April)

Georgetown (S.C.) Oct. 21. The remains of Dr. Myers, who was lost at North Inlet, in the September Gale, 1822, has been lately found, near the place where Mrs. Myers was taken up; which were identified by a gold watch, and a small rule, which he always carried in his pocket, with his name on it. (Friday, October 24, 1823.)

Died, at Philadelphia, on the 9th instant, in the 80 year of his age, Jacob J. Cohen, Esq. formerly of Richmond, but for the last 17 years a resident of Philadelphia. At North-East (Cecil County, Maryland) Daniel Sheredine, Esq. in the 72d year of his age. In Deerfield, (Portage County, Ohio) 24th Sept. Mrs. Day, wife of Col. Day, aged 69. Her death was occasioned by the sting of a yellow wasp, which she received while engaged in drying apples, and survived but fifteen minutes after the fatal event. In Ohio, on the 25th Sept. Hon. Zephamiah Swift, of Windham, late Chief Justice of Connecticut. (Friday, October 24, 1823.)

Died, in Wallingford, Conn. on the 25th ult. of a spotted fever, much lamented, Mrs. Cynthia Hamlin, aged 28, wife of Mr. Joseph Hamlin; of the same fever Widow Eunice Mansfield, consort of the late Capt. John Mansfield and daughter of Mr. Samuel Lewis, aged 39; Widow Thompson, consort of Mr. Abel Thompson, aged 75; a child of Mr. John Hall, of the same fever. (Friday, October 24, 1823.)

Died, in Wareham, (Mass.) Mr. John Fearing, Jun. aged 25. He had returned from his usual avocation, at a late hour in the evening, when he unluckily stumbled, his head striking against a stone, which entered his temple, caused his death in about three or four minutes, having but time to say "I am going", and expired in the arms of his wife. In M'Kean township (Erie county Pa.) on the 14th ult. Mr. Joab Rockwell, of Bricksville, aged 55 years; and on the Tuesday following, Mrs. Elizabeth Rockwell, his wife, aged 63. They were on a journey to the State of New-York, were taken with the bilious fever, and died after a sickness of seven days; leaving four children to mourn their sudden departure. (Friday, October 24, 1823.)

We regret to learn that Mid-shipman Benjamin Follet, died lately on board the U.States brig Spark, of which vessel he was Acting Sailing-Master. He was an officer of great promise Norfolk Herald. (Friday, October 24, 1823.)

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eiro on of Married, in Columbia County (Ga.) 29th Sept. by the Rev. Dr. Barden, Mr. Jeremiah Bugg, to Miss Martha S. Huest, of this city. (Saturday, October 25, 1823.)

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Married, at Alexandria, (D.C.) on the 16th instant Col. Archibald Henderson, Commandant of the U.States Marine Corps, to Miss Anna Maria Cazenove, second daughter of Anthony Charles Cazenove, Esq. of that place. (Saturday, October 25, 1823.)

Died, at Columbia, Archy Mayson, Esq. aged 46; Mrs. Octavia Theodosia Davie, wife of Frederick Wm. Davie, and daughter of H.W.Desaussure, aged 23 years. In Laurens District, on the 29th ult. Mrs. Anne Glenn, in the 77th year of her age. In Abbeville District, on the 7th inst. Mr. William Noble, aged 46. Lately in Green County, (Alabama) Gen. Joseph Hutton, formerly of Abbeville District, in this State. At Philadelphia, suddenly, in the 55th year of his age, Caleb Foulke, Esq. an old and respectable merchant. (Saturday, October 25, 1823.)

Married, in Columbia County, (Geo.) 29th Sept. by the Rev. Dr. Barden Dr. Jeremiah Bugg, to Miss Martha S. Hurst, of this city. (Monday, October 27, 1823.)

Died, at Pensacola, Capt. Matthew S. Massey, of the United States Army, aged 30. At Norfolk, General John C. Cohoon, aged 59. At Baltimore, Col. John Mackenheimer, aged 70, a gallant soldier of the revolution. At Washington, Capt. Robert Moffit, aged 41. At Port Conway, Va. Mr. Edward Ferris, Principal of the Eastern Academy in Washington City. At Bedford, Pa. 4th instant, Mrs. Rebecca Burd, aged 68, and on the next morning, about 12 hours afterwards, with dropsy in the chest, Gen. Benjamin Burd, aged 70. At Lancaster, Pa. Sarah Ewing, sister of the late Judge Yates, aged 92 and six months. At sea on his passage to England, May 3, Rev. W. Johnson, Missionary to Sierra Leone, Also at sea, on the 6th, Rev. S. Flood, first Colonial Chaplain at Sierra Leone. At Sierra Leone, 24th April, Mr. Bunner, schoolmaster at Freetown. On the 24th Rev. W. H. Schemel, Missionary; on the 8th May, Rev. H. Palmer, Missionary. (Monday, October 27, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Dr. Barron, and Mrs. Barron also of Mr. Christopher Williman, and Mrs. Williman, are requested to attend the funeral of the latter, from her mother's hous., No. 99 Broad-street, This Afternoon at 3 o'clock. (Tuesday, October 28, 1823.)

Departed this life on the 18th inst. in the 25th year of his age, Moses Wood, Esq. a native of Ireland, but for several years past a resident of this City.... a wife and relatives lament his early death. (Wednesday, October 29, 1823.)

More melancholy news from Key West by the sloop Ocean, Capt. Johnson, from Thompson's Island, we learn the further addition to the victims of disease at that unfortunate port, of lieut. Stephen M. Rogers, of the Marines, left in Command by Commodore Porter. (Friday, October 31, 1823.)

Died, at Savannah, aged 40, Mr. John Carruthers, a native of Scotland, but for the last 19 years a resident of that city. At Augusta, Geo., Mr. Edward Houghton, aged 42, a native of Deerfield, M[as]s. but for the last five years a resident in that city. At Georgetown, D.C., Augustus Taney, Esq., aged 35, Attorney at Law. At Trenton, N.J., James Ewing, Esq. aged 78, a Patriot of the Revolution and useful to his fellow citizens in various public offices for upwards of 40 years. At St. Louis, Mo., Lieut. Thomas J. Ayer, Adjutant of the 1st Reg. U.S. Infantry. (Friday, October 31, 1823.)

Died, at his residence, near Frankfort, Ky. on the 8th inst. Gen. Martin Davis Hardin, in the 43d year of his age. Few men in the Western Country filled a larger space in the public eye. . . . When the venerable Shelby was elected a second time to the Chief Magistracy of Kentucky, he selected Gen. Hardin as his confidential adviser, and appointed him to the office of Secretary of State, the duties of which he discharged during the whole of that administration, with the exception of six months which he served in the North-Western Army, as Major in Col. Allen's regiment. . . . [he also] served one session in the Senate of the United States. . . . (Friday, October 31, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Lydia Glover, and her daughter Ann R. Glover, are invited to attend the funeral of the latter, This Afternoon at half past 3 o'clock from the residence of Captain James Kennedy, No. 27 Mazyck-street. (Friday, October 31, 1823.)

Died, at New York, Mr. Peter Smith, printing press maker, aged 29. At, Portsmouth, Major David C. Fostel, aged 31, editor of the New Hampshire Gazette. (Saturday, November 1, 1823.)

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also tend This The relatives and friends of Mrs. Emily Bellinger, are requested to attend her funeral, This Morning at 10 o'clock, at her mother's house, No. 37, St.Philip-street. (Monday, November 3, 1823.)

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The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Mrs. Margaret Thompson, Mrs. Elizabeth Windsor, and of Mr. and Mrs. James Drummond, are invited to attend the Funeral of the former, from her late residence, No. 23 Guignard-street, This Afternoon at 3 o'clock, without further invitation. (Tuesday, November 4, 1823.)

Died, at Philadelphia, Mr. Samuel Oakford, aged 91. At Ashford (Conn.) Mrs. Elizabeth Woodward, aged 93. At Scituate (R.I.) Mrs. Elizabeth Winsor, relict of the late Rev. Joseph Winsor, aged 105 years. At Hebron (Conn.) Mr. Jeremiah Hodgdon, a revolutionary soldier, aged about 90. . . . At Salisbury (N.C.) Captain John Smith, aged 45. Near the same place Mr. John Kern, aged 79, leaving a widow with whom he had lived 54 years. At Petersburg, (Va.) Mr. Joseph Vonard, aged 68, a native of France but 40 years resident in that town. At New Orleans, Mr. James Rinker, a native of Philadelphia, and a revolutionary soldier and seaman; Mr. Louis Landreux, aged 55, an inhabitant. At Madisonville, Joseph H. Hawkins, Esq attorney at law, of New Orleans. At Natchitoches, Mr. A. H. Bossiz, a Representative in the General Assembly. (Wednesday, November 5, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Greer, are invited to attend the funeral of the latter, This Morning at 9 o'clock, from the west end of Bull-street, without further invitation. (Wednesday, November 5, 1823.)

Died, in the state of Mississippi, Sept. 17th, Major Isaac Guin, a native of the State of New-York, aged 69 years, a soldier of the Revolution.... When the territory of Mississippi was ceded by Spain to the U. States, he was selected to descend the Mississippi, with a detachment of 300 men, to take possession of it. In consequence of which, he landed at Natchez, in the latter part of 1794 and hoisted the flag of the U.States.... [When he] entered the matrimonial state.... [he] settled on a small farm near Natchez, where he resided for the twenty years preceding his death. Nat[ional] Int[elligencer] (Thursday, November 6, 1823.)

Married, at Brighton, (Me.) at the seat of Capt. Downes, of the Navy, Captain William Austin, of the ship Panther, to Miss Hepsey Downes. At New Haven, Hon. Herman Allen, Minister Plenipotentiary to the

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lavy, wnes. Government of Chili, to Miss Elizabeth Hart, daughter of Elias Hart, Esq. (Saturday, November 8, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Brodie, Senior, and those of Edward Newhall and Thomas W. Thayer, are invited to attend the Funeral of the former, from his late residence, No. 112 Tradd-st. This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock. (Saturday, November 8, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Captain John H. Silliman, and of his brother Captain Isaac Silliman, are invited to attend the funeral of the latter, from his late residence in Mazyckborough, This Morning, at 9 o'clock. (Tuesday, November 11, 1823.)

On the 3d instant, Mrs. Margaret Thomson, a native of Ayrshire, (Scotland) in the 83d year of her age, a respectable inhabitant of this city. She had left a large family and numerous friends to mourn her loss. (Wednesday, November 12, 1823.)

Died.... Mrs. Ann M'Clary, (consort of Mr. Samuel M'Clary of this city) who departed this life on the 30th ult. in the 24th year of her age.... She has left an affectionate husband and infant daughter, with a large circle of relatives and friends to remember her virtues.... (Wednesday, Novermber 12, 1828.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of James Thomson and Mrs. Mary C. Thomson, and Mr. and Mrs. T. L. Smith; and likewise the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are invited to attend the Funeral of the former, from his late residence Hasell-street, This Afternoon, at three o'clock, without further invitation. (Wednesday, November 12, 1823.)

(To be continued)

NOTES AND REVIEWS*

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Narrative of Reminiscences in Williamsburg County. By Samuel D. Mc-Gill. (Kingstree, S.C.: Kingstree Lithographic Co., 1952. Pp. viii, 306. \$5.00.)

An often-voiced complaint of social historians is that few people take the trouble to record the every-day happenings of their times. Most people fail to realize that their manners, customs and ways of life will one day be supplanted and that the seemingly trivial affairs of today will, in time, become the fabric of history, of considerable interest to those who come after them.

Dr. Samuel D. McGill was one of the rare exceptions. He kept a diary over a long period of years, in which he minutely recorded events as they were taking place. With unusually keen powers of observation, he recognized the value of the information possessed by him, and appears to have felt a sense of obligation to make it available in published form to posterity.

The first edition of his *Reminiscences* was published in Columbia in 1897 by the R. L. Bryan Co. No copies of it have come to our notice within the past ten or more years, as being offered hereabouts by dealers in old books. With the appearance now of a second edition, a lithoprint, the long-felt need of many who would own a copy is being met.

The narrative begins with the memorable hurricane of 1822, and covers a period of almost three-quarters of a century. It is filled with interesting, quaint and amusing accounts of such commonplaces as weather, social customs, childhood games and pranks, social and religious gatherings, the conduct of old-field schools, the tedium of travel, and like subjects, all related in a charming style. While the author does not appear to have traveled widely, he records his limited travel with such thoroughness of detail and such facility of description, that we are enabled to go along with him over muddy roads or through deep, sandy ruts at snail's pace.

He has been thoughtful enough to record and include a number of colorful and amusing anecdotes passed on to him by his elders, and occurring, in some instances, even before his birth. Generally these are in the vein of social history, which, with genealogy, and family connections, appear to have been the two topics of most interest to the author.

Social historians are grateful to Dr. McGill for his pains. Another large group will find this book of interest for another reason. These are the

^{*} This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from mebmers of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for each fifty words or less. Copy should be sent at least three months in advance of publication, to The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C.

descendants of the many old Williamsburg families, the complication of whose connections by blood and marriage have been so carefully assembled and set down in this book. Incidents of early life in Sumter County are also included. Where else can one find an account of student life at old Edgehill Academy?

Dr. McGill, born in Williamsburg County in 1819, was a man of considerable academic and literary education for his time. He was a graduate of the Medical College in Charleston as well. His employment in life, however, was not as a practicing physician, but as an educator. He died in his native county in 1896.

On good paper and sturdily bound, the new edition, like the old, has no index. Two improvements which add to its value are a map of Williamsburg District in 1820, from Mills' Atlas, and a biographical sketch of Dr. McGill which appeared in the Kingstree County Record at the time of his death.

Miss Carolyn McElveen and her associates of the Kingstree Lithograph Company are to be congratulated on their initiative and industry in the publication, after a lapse of fifty-five years, of a second edition of Dr. Mc-Gill's interesting book, which, when exhausted, will in time, also become a collector's item.

University of South Carolina

THOMAS M. STUBBS

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms. Volume I. Collected and Edited by Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, T. C. Duncan Eaves. Introduction by Donald Davidson. Biographical Sketch by Alexander S. Salley. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952. Pp. clii, 456. Illustrations, notes. \$8.50.)

William Gilmore Simms, most prolific and one of the most notable of ante-bellum South Carolina writers, died in 1870, when the biography he deserved had no possibility of being written. Later, when the generation which had known him was all but gone, William Peterfield Trent concocted his preposterously Procrustean thesis. Simms since then has been rather a field for partisan skirmishing, than a man in need of a history—skirmishings as bitter and involved as any he liked to describe in his Revolutionary novels. In this inkshed and pother, he became the sort of man you argue about but never read. So, though this book by no means takes the place of a reasoned biography, it will have the virtue of letting the man be heard, of and for himself. It may even induce some to go back to his voluminous writings and try to read them.

Trent's doctrine that Simms was at outs with his environment was inversely correct. The robust, self-consciously Bohemian Simms energetical and diffusely overproductive and under critical, was most definitely a prob-

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lem in Charleston. More sophisticated in certain respects, than any other city in the country, small, close-knit, aristocratic in feeling and ambition, Charleston believed devoutly in Free Trade, equally satisfied to sell abroad the best rice and cottons then grown, and to import the best books then written. Now, with every ounce of patriotism alerted, it is difficult for a Charlestonian to put Simms' novels near to Thackeray's, or his poetry in the company of Tennyson; then, with all come hot from the last ship, the contrast was hard indeed. Besides, Charleston did not then appreciate unbridled exuberance for its own sake, be it in mixed company or mixed writing. Such intrinsic weaknesses matched those of the man. Simms missed a greater reputation by not removing northward where larger and less difficult publics were to be had and claques could be better contrived. Posthumously he has lived largely by controversy. By helping to find his bones a level at long last, these new books concerning him may give them rest.

The introductions might have better dropped the "genteel" defensive. Charleston *Directories* witness that at Simms' birth his father kept a tavern in connection with a family waggon yard and grocery, on Charleston Neck. Fortunes were then being made along that part of King Street. Boys born there and in no better parts of the town, would rise to positions of trust, honor, and fashion in Charleston and in South Carolina. They still do, and what of it?

The handsome book could have done with some editing and elimination. The first hundred and fifty-two pages are largely appendical. A lot of this material is in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. But whatever its character, Roman numeration to indicate it is at the expense of the reader's patience and ingenuity. Finally, a book of this size and sort surely deserved a vastly bigger and better index.

SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY

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History of South Carolina Methodism. By Albert Deems Betts. (Columbia: The Advocate Press, 1952. Pp. 544. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography acknowledgments, addenda, index. \$5.00.)

In fifty-one chapters, this encyclopedic book traces the evolution of Methodism from its origin as a society for awakening spirituality within the church of England, down to the present independent, well-organized and powerful denomination. Especially interesting are the chapters on the work of the Anglican ministers: John Wesley and his brother Charles, George Whitefield, Joseph Pilmoor, and others; and the early bishops: Thomas Coke, who served England, Scotland, Wales and America, crossed the Atlantic eighteen times at his own expense, and finally died on a voyage to the East Indies; and Francis Asbury, the great organizer of Methodism.

This book also gives the story of every South Carolina Conference, from the first in 1787, in the Blue Meeting House on Cumberland Street in Charleston, on down to the memorable conference in 1948, when the two conferences of the state were reunited into one. Especially valuable are the numerous biographical sketches, particularly those of the early circuit riders such as James Jenkins of the clarion voice, "Thundering Jimmy", who was known to the young preachers as "the conference curry-comb." Other chapters tell of educational institutions, church publications, missionary work among the slaves, and the annual summer camp meetings.

Interesting to read, and invaluable for reference, the book is marred by small print, which may account for the inadequate proof-reading and the many typographical errors. The author has had printed a sheet of "Corrections" and "Errata", but says that no attempt has been made to list mere typographical errors where the meaning is clear. The index is useful but not adequate, and the table of contents should have shown page numbers.

A native of Sumter, Mr. Betts modestly calls himself "a novice in the role of historian." He was licensed to preach in 1905, received the M.A. degree from Princeton University in 1907, and is now in charge of the Methodist church at Pinopolis.

A.K.G.

Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina. By Lewis K. Mc-Millan. (Place and publisher not listed, 1952. Pp. xii, 296. \$5.00.)

Lewis K. McMillan was born in Allendale County, received his A.B. degree from Howard University, and his Ph.D. from Bonn in Germany, and now teaches history at South Carolina State Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College in Orangeburg. He has written (and apparently privately published) an unusual study of Negro higher education in South Carolina. Well organized, the contents include: (1) former institutions of higher learning (Avery, Brainerd, Brewer, Coulter, Seneca); (2) junior colleges (Bettis, Clinton, Friendship, Harbison, Voorhees); (3) senior private colleges (Allen, Benedict, Claffin, Morris); (4) the senior public college (South Carolina A. and M.); (5) prospects for the future. The absence of an index is to be regretted. Though devoid of bibliography and inadequate in footnotes, the book provides detailed information, much of which is documentary source material, concerning the grounds, buildings, enrollment, curriculum, organization, administration, finances, history, and educational significance of these institutions. McMillan is severely critical of incompetent leadership in the Negro private colleges.

This book is significant for several reasons. First, it is a valuable contribution to the history of the Negro and of South Carolina. Second, it is an

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ossed byage dism. angry plea for reform by Negro educational leaders and for fair treatment of Negroes by whites. Third, it is an exemplary act of courage in bold expression of controversial opinions in a time of increasing professorial timidity and declining academic freedom.

The Citadel

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A Brief History of Cherokee County South Carolina. By Elmer Douglas Johnson. (Gaffney: Chamber of Commerce, 1952. Pp. 30. Statistics and bibliography.)

This small, compact pamphlet contains an excellent historical sketch of the area included within the boundaries of Cherokee County, now only fifty-six years old as a political entity, but much older as a portion of the British Province of Carolina. In compiling the sketch, the author used the usual printed sources which pertain to the region, and also the files of the local newspaper and the United States census reports. The Gaffney Chamber of Commerce has rendered a real public service in making such an authentic story of the county available in printed form.

A statement in regard to the former village of Pinckneyville, which appears on page five, needs some clarification. Pinckneyville was the site of the courthouse of Pinckney District, created by act of the legislature in 1791 and abolished in 1800. That district included Chester, Spartanburg, Union, and York, old counties which had their own courthouses for petty cases in their county courts, but which sent their important cases up to the circuit courts which held sessions at Pinckneyville.

The author is librarian at Limestone College. In 1951 he contributed to this *Magazine*, "A Frenchman Visits Charleston in 1777"; he also completed at Duke University a dissertation entitled, "The History of South Carolina History to 1789."

A.K.G.

THE SOCIETY

Dr. William Way has resigned as the Society's member on the state Historical Commission, and Mr. Clarence W. Legerton has been appointed to serve for the remainder of the unexpired term.

On April 19, the Society enjoyed a pilgrimage to Burnt Church, Willtown, and Edisto Island.

SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Association was held on April 11, in the auditorium at The Citadel, Charleston, with Colonel G. T. Prior, president, in the chair. At the morning session, papers were read by Dr. B. L. Poole and Dr. D. W. Hollis, and discussions were led by Dr. E. M. Lander and Dr. Lillian Kibler. The South Carolina Historical Society

entertained the Association at an informal reception in the afternoon. Following the banquet in the evening, Dr. T. B. Alexander made an address on "Historical Treatments of the Dred Scott Case."

HISTORICAL COMMISSION FOR LANCASTER COUNTY

A bill has been introduced in the legislature by Senator W. Bruce Williams to create an Historical Commission to select markers for, and to be responsible for the upkeep of, historic sites in Lancaster County. One of those sites is the birthplace of President Andrew Jackson.

SUMTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mr. Victor C. Barringer, who for the past several years has been president of the Sumter County Historical Society, recently sold his home in Sumter and removed to Virginia. Mr. John L. Frierson of Stateburg is now president of the society.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH ON THE WACCAMAW

Apropos of "The Presbyterian Church on the Waccamaw" by Mr. Paul Quattlebaum, in the April issue of this *Magazine*, the Rev. H. D. Bull, of Prince George Winyaw, sends us the following from *The Diocese* of March 1908. The writer was born and reared in Conway:

To the Editor of The Diocese:

For many years it was my ambition to conduct a service of the Episcopal Church in the town of my birth—Conway. Sentimental as well as missionary promptings carried me to Conway on Tuesday, February 4th.... There is no record of a service of the Episcopal Church there since the close of the 18th century; and the Presbyterian church, in which I conducted the service, stands within a few feet of the site of an Episcopal church erected in colonial days....

It may interest your readers to know something of the history of the colonial church. Strange to say, Dalcho makes no mention of a church at Conway (borough), which was then called Kingston. My great-grandmother, who was born in 1791, remembered the old brick church, and kept one of the pews in her front porch for many years. It is now in Georgetown. The following is quoted from some memoranda of my father:

'The first church building within the limits of the town (Kingston) was the Kingston Parish Church, used first by the Episcopalian clergymen, and stood on the Lake side, fronting the street leading to the Lake from the Court House. It was also used as long ago as 1785 by Presbyterian preachers sent out as Evangelists by Cape Fear Presbytery. It gradually decayed and disappeared, and Kingston Presbyterian Church now stands near the site of that old Parish Church.'

Of course this may have been a chapel of ease, but that it was a parish church is extremely doubtful. From another paper I have learned that there were extensive

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glebe lands, covering nearly all of the present site of Conway. By the providence of God another parish church may yet stand in that historic town.

T. TRACY WALSH, General Missionary

STATE RECORDS TO BE REPAIRED

The welcome information given below is from *Information Circular* Number 1, recently received from the Historical Commission of South Carolina:

Two methods of restoring records papers are now widely employed. By the first a thin sheet of silk gauze, or paper tissue, is pasted by hand on each side of the document; by the second cellulose acetate foil, usually reinforced with paper tissue, is applied by machine. The first method is preferred by some records officers, particularly if the number of documents to be repaired is small. The second has great advantages when the number is large. Chiefly because the South Carolina public records include thousands of documents that are in need of restoration, the Historical Commission has decided to employ the second method. The necessary equipment has been purchased from William J. Barrow, document restorer of Richmond, Virginia, and the procedures developed by Mr. Barrow have been adopted.

The Barrow method of restoration involves two steps—the removal of impurities from the paper and, after this has been done, the application to it of a transparent covering. The first is accomplished by a specialized washing process, the second by welding to each side of the purified paper one sheet of cellulose acetate foil and another of high grade tissue.

The chief cause of the deterioration of written documents is the high acidity of the ink and paper. The principal objects of the washing process are to neutralize this acid and, by adding to the paper small amounts of alkali, earth, metal carbonates, to prevent a renewal of the acid condition.

The application of the acetate foil and the tissue to the original paper is the process known as lamination. A sheet of the first is placed next to each side of the document. The tissue is placed next to each piece of foil, and the document is then ready for the laminating machine. Encased in a moulding form, it is first passed between two electrically heated plates where the cellulose acetate is softened. It is then pressed between two revolving calender rolls which, by great pressure, weld to the document the films of acetate and tissue. The sealed document is finally flat pressed for several hours to eliminate any tendency to curl.

Lamination has been found to have many advantages. The process is relatively inexpensive... both the tearing resistance and folding endurance of the paper are greatly increased. The film covering has likewise been found to be highly resistant to mould, bacteria, and the passage of gases.

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Joseph Francis, born January 1765, near Willtown, S. C.; removed to Sumter District about 1778; resided in Clarendon County in 1790; served in Revolution in Capt. James Winter's company; removed 1801 to Amite County, Miss.; removed 1821 to Catahoula Parish, La. I need certified

copy of marriage record, also names of parents. Mrs. W. O. Richey, Boyce, La.

Mrs. W. T. Fry, Sr., 800 Virginia Place, Fort Worth 7, Texas, wants name of wife of Thomas Spearman, born in Caroline County, Virginia, died in Newberry County, South Carolina, in 1800. Their son James married first, before 1790, Luca Graves, in Essex County, Virginia; second Gracie Adkinson, in Newberry County, where he died in 1800.

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